00104833

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018

HERODOTUS

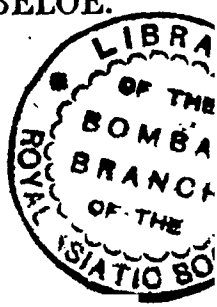
TRANSLATED

FROM THE GREEK,

WITH NOTES.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM BELOE.

104833 a.



IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

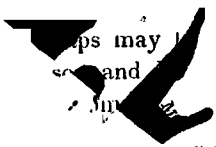
GG 8 86

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR F. C. AND J. RIVINGTON; J. CUTHELL; LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN; BALDWIN, CRADOCK, AND JOY; LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN; J. MAWMAN; G. AND W. B. WHITTAKER; W. WOOD; OGLE, DUNCAN, AND CO.; WELL AND MARTIN; SIMPKIN AND MARSHALL; W. SHELDON; W. MASON; AND OXFORD.

1818.

God
888
Herl.Her
104833



by S. & R. BENTLEY,
Bolt Court, Fleet Street, London.

HERODOTUS.

BOOK VII.

POLYMNIA.

CONTINUED.

CHAP. LX.

I AM not able to specify what number of men each nation supplied, as no one has recorded it. The whole amount of the land forces was seventeen hundred thousand[57]. Their mode of ascer-

---

[57] *Seventeen hundred thousand.*]—I r[illegible] still in doubt, says Richardson, whether any such expedi[illegible]s ever undertaken by the *paramount sovereign of Persia.* [illegible]ised in name by some Greek corruptio[illegible] may possibly have been a feudatory prince or vice[illegible] of the western distric[illegible] and that an invasion of Greece may have possibly taken [illegible] under this prince, I shall readily believe, but upon a s[illegible] must also believe infinitely narrower than th[illegible]east exag[illegible] rated description of the Greek historians.

In Herodotus the reputed [illegible]llowe[illegible]kes ar[illegible] 5,283,220. Isocrates, in his [illegible] est[illegible] land army in round numbers at 3,[illegible] A[illegible] Plutarch in general agrees; bu[illegible] odorus, Pliny, Ælian, and [illegible]r later[illegible]

taining the number was this: they drew up in one place a body of ten thousand men; making these

---

beyond all belief, that they at once cut off about four-fifths, to bring them within the line of possibility. Yet what is this, but a singular and very unauthorized liberty in one of the most consequential points of the expedition? What circumstance in the whole narration is more explicit in Herodotus, or by its frequent repetition, not in figures, but in words at length, seems less liable to the mistake of copiers? &c.—See *Richardson.*

Upon this subject, Larcher, who probably had never seen Richardson's book, writes as follows:

This immense army astonishes the imagination, but still is not incredible. All the people dependant on Persia were slaves: they were compelled to march, without distinction of birth or profession. Extreme youth or advanced age were probably the only reasons which excused them from bearing arms. The only reasonable objection to be made to this recital of Herodotus is that which Voltaire has omitted to make —where were provisions to be had for so numerous an army? But Herodotus has anticipated this objection: "We have with us," says Xerxes, "abundance of provisions, and all the nations among w[illegible] we shall come, not being shepherds, but husband[illegible] we shall find corn in their country, which we shall [illegible] se."

[illegible]ubsequent writers [illegible]t is true, differed from Herodotus, [illegible]ished the number of the army of Xerxes; but Hero[illegible]s, who was in some measure a contemporary, and who and di[illegible] history to Greeks assembled at Olympia, where dotus, w[illegible] fought at Salamis and Platæa, is more deserv- recited his [illegible]ter historians.

were many [illegible] betwixt the two different opi- ing of credit t[illegible]rcher. It is not likely, as there

The truth [illegible]reece at the court of Persia, that nions of Richar[illegible] of the [illegible]bers and resources of were [illegible]y exiles [illegible] millions seems at first sight Xer[illegible]ld be [illegible]posterous. Admitting that so

stand together as compactly as possible, they drew a circle round them. Dismissing these, they enclosed the circle with a wall breast high; into this they introduced another and another ten thousand, till they thus obtained the precise number of the whole. They afterwards ranged each nation apart.

LXI. The nations who composed the army were these. I speak of the *Persians first, who

---

vast an army had marched against Greece, no one of common sense would have thought of making an attack by the way of Thermopylæ, where the passage must have been so tedious, and any resistance, as so few in proportion could possibly be brought to act, might be made almost on equal terms: whilst, on the contrary, to make a descent, they had the whole range of coast before them. With respect to provisions, the difficulty appears still greater, and almost insurmountable. I recur therefore to what I have before intimated; and believe, in contradiction to [illegible]ardson, that the expedition actually took place; but I can[illegible]ink, with Larcher, that the numbers recorded by Herodotu[illegible]nsistent with probability.—*T.*

* Rennell says, that the Pe[illegible]ns may be compared, [illegible] respect to the rest of the army of Xerxes, with the Europeans in a British army in India, composed chiefly of sepoys and native troops.

In reviewing the arguments on both sides [illegible]ce the first e[illegible] tion, there appears to me mo[illegible] good se[illegible] the above remark of Rennell, than in all [illegible]at Richa[illegible]on and [illegible] have written on the subject.—[illegible] fo[illegible] is inde[illegible] enough; he disbelieves Herodo[illegible]ns [illegible]ee[illegible]ns inc[illegible] dit the Persian poets: [illegible]e his [illegible]s' abou[illegible] the Persian monarchs, and the [illegible]ons princes, by which he attempts

taining the number was this: they drew up in one place a body of ten thousand men; making these

beyond all belief, that they at once cut off about four-fifths, to bring them within the line of possibility. Yet what is this, but a singular and very unauthorized liberty in one of the most consequential points of the expedition? What circumstance in the whole narration is more explicit in Herodotus, or by its frequent repetition, not in figures, but in words at length, seems less liable to the mistake of copiers? &c.—See *Richardson*.

Upon this subject, Larcher, who probably had never seen Richardson's book, writes as follows:

This immense army astonishes the imagination, but still is not incredible. All the people dependant on Persia were slaves: they were compelled to march, without distinction of birth or profession. Extreme youth or advanced age were probably the only reasons which excused them from bearing arms. The only reasonable objection to be made to this recital of Herodotus is that which Voltaire has omitted to make —where were provisions to be had for so numerous an army? But Herodotus has anticipated this objection: "We have with us," says Xerxes, "abundance of provisions, and all the nations among which we shall come, not being shepherds, but husbandmen, we shall find corn in their country, which we shall [illegible]."

Subsequent writers [illegible] it is true, differed from Herodotus, diminished the number of the army of Xerxes; but Herodotus, who was in some measure a contemporary, and who wrote history to Greeks assembled at Olympia, where they fought at Salamis and Platæa, is more deserving of later historians.

[illegible] betwixt the two different opinions of Larcher. It is not likely, as there were Greece at the court of Persia, that [illegible] of the numbers and resources of [illegible] millions seems at first sight [illegible] monstrous. Admitting that so

stand together as compactly as possible, they drew a circle round them. .. Dismissing these, they enclosed the circle with a wall breast [illegible]; into this they introduced another and another ten thousand, till they thus obtained the precise number of the whole. They afterwards ranged each nation apart.

LXI. The nations who composed the army were these. I speak of the *Persians first, who

---

vast an army had marched against Greece, no one of common sense would have thought of making an attack by the way of Thermopylæ, where the passage must have been so tedious, and any resistance, as so few in proportion could possibly be brought to act, might be made almost on equal terms: whilst, on the contrary, to make a descent, they had the whole range of coast before them. With respect to provisions, the difficulty appears still greater, and almost insurmountable. I recur therefore to what I have before intimated; and believe, in contradiction to [illegible]ardson, that the expedition actually took place; but I ca[illegible]ink, with Larcher, that the numbers recorded by Herodotu[illegible]nsistent with probability.—*T.*

* Rennell says, that the Pe[illegible]s may be compared, respect to the rest of the army of Xerxes, with the Europeans in a British army in India, composed chiefly of sepoys and native troops.

In reviewing the arguments on both sides [illegible]ce the first e[illegible]tion, there appears to me mo[illegible] good se[illegible] the above remark of Rennell, than in all [illegible]at Richa[illegible]on and [illegible] have written on the subject.—[illegible] fo[illegible] is inde[illegible] enough; he disbelieves Herodo[illegible]s [illegible]eems inc[illegible]dit the Persian poets: [illegible] his [illegible]s abou[illegible] the Persian monarchs, and the [illegible]ns princes, by which he attempts

wore small helmets on their heads, which they call tiaræ: their bodies were covered with tunics of different colours, having sleeves, and adorned with plates of steel, in imitation of the scales of fishes; their thighs were defended, and they carried a kind of shield called gerra, beneath which was a quiver[58]. They had short spears[59],

---

the Scriptures. It appears from Herodotus himself, that the regular troops were but an inconsiderable part of the number. Probably Xerxes had not many more actual soldiers than the Greeks; the rest were desultory hordes fit only for plunder, and four-fifths of the whole were followers of the camp with rice, provisions, &c.—The army that marched under Lord Cornwallis at the siege of Seringapatam, in the first campaign, consisted of 20,000 troops, but the followers were more than 100,000.—This is the case in all Eastern countries.

[58] *A quiver.*]—It is probable, from this account, says Larcher, that on their march the Persians did not carry their shields in their hands, but suspended behind from their shoulders.

But there [illegible] no ground for this opinion, for the shield might [illegible] the left arm, and the quiver so fastened under it [illegible] er, or on the left side, as to admit of the drawing [illegible]ws from it, under cover of the shield, in time of action. I recollect no examples of soldiers whose backs were defended by a shield. In the figures of Persepolis the quiver appears suspended across the left hip, and perhaps the large bow in a case with it, but no shield, and on their [illegible] side the short daggers, (εγχειριδια) suspended from a belt. May it be an unfounded conjecture, that the bas-reliefs at Persepolis relate to the expedition of Xerxes, which seem to be no otherwise recorded in the Persian history?

[illegible]s.]—The reader will find an excellent descrip- in Montfaucon; and by no

large bows, and arrows made of reeds; and on their right side, a dagger suspended from a belt. They were led by Otanes, father of Amestris, one of the wives of Xerxes. The Persians were once called Cephenes by the Greeks; by themselves and their neighbours Artæi*. But when Perseus, the son of Danaë and Jupiter, went to reside with Cepheus son of Belus, he married his daughter Andromeda, and had by her a son named Perses, who was left with his grandfather. Cepheus had no male offspring, and the Persians took their name from his grandson Perses.

LXII. The Medes had the same military dress; indeed, properly speaking, it is Median†, and not Persian. Their leader was Tigranes, of the family of Achæmenides. In ancient times the Medes were universally called Arii; but when Medea of Colchis went over to these Arii from Athens, they changed their name; this is what they say of themselves. The armour of the Cissians generally resembled that of the Persians,

means an inelegant or incorrect one in the Leonidas of our countryman Glover.—*T.*

* *Artæi.*]—These, says Rennell, might be the same the Arteatæ just mentioned, and their country may pressed by the Artacene of Ptolemy and the A modern geography, a prov[illegible]ated to th Ispahan, p. 286.

† With the Greeks, in the [illegible]

except that instead of tiaræ they wore mitres: they were commanded by Anaphes, son of Otanes. The Hyrcani were also dressed like the Persians, and had for their leader Megapanus, who was afterward governor of Babylon.

LXIII. The Assyrian forces had brazen helmets of a barbarous form, and difficult to describe. Their shields, spears, and daggers, were like those of the Ægyptians; they had also large clubs pointed with iron, and linen cuirasses*. These people the Greeks call Syrians, the Barbarians Assyrians; mixt with these were the Chaldeans: the whole were under the conduct of Otaspes son of Artachæus.

LXIV. The Bactrians, in what they wore on their heads, most resembled the Medes, but, after the custom of their country, they used bows made of reed and short spears. The Sacæ, who are Scythian nation, had helmets termi-

---

s applied generally to the united empire of Medes and rsians, as having from habit been applied to the power hich held the sovereignty of Asia. This appears throughut his work. He says, moreover, that in ancient times, the Medes were universally termed Arii, which agrees with Strabo, for by him appears as if the whole tract between Assyria and India had originally been called Asia by the Greeks.—Rennell, p. 2.

* Perhaps, says Renn might be vests quilted with such substance, t sist the ordinary cut of cts—these are worn at present by the solof the pe nces of India.

nating in a point, and wore breeches. They were also armed in their country manner, with bows, daggers, and a hatchet called sagaris. This people, though really the Amyrgii of Scythia, were called Sacæ, the name given by the Persians indiscriminately to all Scythians. Hystaspes, son of Darius by Atossa the daughter of Cyrus, commanded the Bactrians and the Sacæ.

LXV. The dress of the Indians was cotton: their bows were made of reeds*, as were also their arrows, which were pointed with iron: their leader was Pharnazathres, son of Artabates. The Arii had bows like the Medes, but were in other respects equipped like the Bactrians, and were under the command of Sisamnes, son of Hydarnes.

LXVI. The Parthians[60], Ch[illegible]mians, Sogdians, Gandarians†, and the D[illegible] had the same armour as the Bact[illegible]ns. Th[illegible]hians

* By reeds, in this place, bamboos must certainly be intended.

60 *Parthians, &c.*]—Various and numerous as these confederates of Xerxes are here described, Lucan, in a poetical hyperbole, affirms, that the allies of Po[illegible]ey were still more so.—See *L.* iii. 285.—*T.*

† *Gandarians.*]—A mistake of the press at this place misled my friend Major Rennell, and occasioned a [illegible] rate note from Larcher [illegible] consequence. Vanity, perhaps, induce me to rejoice in an error which [illegible] forth so handsome a compli[illegible]t from the

and Chorasmians were led by Artabanus, son of Pharnaces; Azanes, son of Artæus, commanded the Sogdians; as did Artyphius, son of Artabanus, the Gardarians and Dadicæ.

LXVII. The Caspians wore a vest made of skins; they had the armour of their country, bows made of reeds, and scymetars. Ariomardus, the brother of Artyphius conducted them. The Sarangæ* had beautiful habits of different and splendid colours: they had buskins reaching to their knees, bows and javelins like the Medes, and Pherendates, the son of Megabazus, commanded them. The Pactyes also had vests made of skins, bows and daggers after the manner of their country, and Artyntes son of Ithamatres was their leader.

LXVIII. The Utii, Mycii, and Paricanii, were armed [illegible] the Pactyes. The Utii and Mycii

---

[illegible] the first edition [illegible] work, of which I can only observe, I have corrected as many errors as I have been able to discover.—*T.*

* *The Sarangæ, or Sarangeans.*]—The dress of this people, says Rennell, characterizes them as rich, civilized, and industrious. They were the Energetæ of the Greeks. They are called by Arrian Agriaspæ; by Pliny Argetæ; by Ptolemy Ariaspæ. Diodorus tells us that when Cyrus was on some expedition, in great distress, this people brought him 30,000 carriages laden with provisions. For this service, he bestowed [illegible] privileges upon them; and they were also exempted from tribute.—*T.*

had for their commander Arsamenes, son of Darius; Sirometris the son of Œobazus conducted the Paricanii.

LXIX. The Arabians wore large folding vests, which they call ziræ: their bows were long, flexible, and crooked. The Æthiopians were clad in skins of panthers and lions: their bows were of palm, and not less than four cubits long. Their arrows were short, and made of reeds, instead of iron they were pointed with a stone which they use to cut their seals. They had also spears armed with the horns of goats, shaped like the iron of a lance; and beside these, knotty clubs. It is the custom of this people, when they advance to combat, to daub one half of their body with gypsum, the other with vermilion. Arsanes son of Darius by Artystone a daughter of Cyrus, commanded the Arabians and [illegible] Æthiopians who came from beyond Ægypt. [illegible] his wives, Darius loved Artystone [illegible] most. [illegible] constructed a golden statue in [illegible] honour.

LXX. Those Æthiopians who came from the more eastern parts of their country (for there were two distinct bodies in this expedition) served with the Indians. These differed from the former in nothing but their language and their hai The Oriental Æthiopians have their hair strai those of Africa have their hair more crisp

curling than any other men. The armour of the Asiatic Æthiopians resembled that of the Indians, but on their heads they wore the skins of horses' heads[61], on which the manes and ears were left. The manes served as the plumes, and the ears remained stiff and erect. Instead of shields they held out before them the skins of cranes.

LXXI. The Libyans were dressed in skins, and had the points of their spears hardened in the fire*. They were conducted by Massages, son of Oarizus.

LXXII. The Paphlagonians wore helmets made of net-work; they had small spears and bucklers, beside javelins and daggers. Agreeably

---

[61] *Horses' h*[redacted]—These helmets were, according to the description of [redacted]r in his Commentaries, very common among [redacted]ent Germa[redacted]—*T.*

* See Statius, Theb. [redacted] 4.

Pars robora flammis
Indurata diu.

And Q. Curtius, iii. 2.

Invicta bello manus, fundis, credo et hastis igne duratis repelientur.—Virgil, Æn. viii. 523.

Non jam certamine agresti
Stipitibus duris agitur, sudibusq; præustis.

The savages of America use the same process for their spears at this day.—*T.*

to the fashion of their country, they had buskins which reached to the middle of the leg. The Ligyes, Matieni*, Maryandeni, and Syrians, were habited like the Paphlagonians. These Syrians are by the Persians called Cappadocians. The general of the Paphlagonians and Matieni was Dotus, son of Megasidras. The Maryandeni, Ligyes, and Syrians, were led by Bryas, son of Darius and Artystone.

LXXIII. The armour of the Phrygians differed very little from that of the Paphlagonians. According to the Macedonians, the Phrygians, as long as they were their neighbours, and lived in Europe, were called Bryges; on passing over into Asia they took the name of Phrygians[62]. The Armenians are a colony of the Phrygians, and were armed like them. Artochmes, who had married a daughter of Darius, commanded both nations.

LXXIV. The Lydians were equipped very like the Greeks. They were once called Meo-

* These Matieni must have belonged to the Matiene of Cappadocia.

[62] *Phrygians.*]—Arrian tells us that the Phrygians were *reported* to be the oldest of mankind, λεγονται Φρυγες παλαιοτατοι ανθρωπων. Cited by Eust. in Com. in Dion. p. 809. The reader will remember that this was disputed with them by the Ægyptians, but given up after the expedient used by Psammetichus.—*T.*

nians[63]; but they changed their ancient name, and took that of Lydus, the son of Atys. The Nysians wore the helmets of their country, had small shields, and javelins hardened in the fire. They are a colony of the Lydians, and named Olympians, from mount Olympus. These two nations were conducted by Artaphernes, son of that Artaphernes who in conjunction with Datis had invaded Marathon.

LXXV. The Thracians wore on their heads skins of foxes; the other part of their dress consisted of a tunic, below which was a large and folding robe of various colours: they had also buskins made of the skins of fawns, and were armed with javelins, small bucklers, and daggers. They were, as themselves relate, formerly called Strymonians, from inhabiting the banks of the Strymon; [redacted] passing over into Asia, were named [redacted]ians. They say they were ex-

[63] *Meonians.*]—Bochart deduces this name from the Greek Μαιονσθαι, and their after-name Lydi from the Hebrew. But it does not seem probable that the oldest name should be taken from the Greek, and the latter from the Hebrew language. What is yet farther removed from consistency, he places a descendant of Shem in the lot of Japhet, and supposes the Lydians to be the children of Ludim. From him I presume they would have been called Lydimi, not Lydi.—See the invention of games imputed to this people, book i. c. 94.—*T.*

pelled their country by the Teucrians and the Mysians.

LXXVI. Bassaces, son of Artabanus, commanded the Thracians of Asia; these used short bucklers made of hides, and each of them carried two Lycian spears: they had also helmets of brass, on the summit of which were the ears and horns of an ox, made also of brass, together with a crest. On their legs they had purple buskins. This people have among them an oracle of Mars[64].

LXXVII. The Cabalian Meonians[65], who are also called Lasonians, were habited like the Cilicians, whom I shall describe in their proper order. The Milyæ carried short spears, their vests confined with clasps; some of them had Lycian bows, and they wore helmets of leather. Of all these, Badres, son of Hystanes, [illegible] commander.

[illegible]ncles[illegible]

[64] *Oracle of Mars.*]—It is t[illegible]re is something wanting; for the des[illegible]ption which by the co[illegible] text seems here to be given of the Thracians, with truth will apply neither to the Thracians of Asia nor of Europe. Wesseling presumes that they may be the Chalybians, among whom was an oracle of Mars, and who were neighbours to the nations here described by Herodotus. Larcher also is of this opinion.

[65] *Cabalian Meonians.*]—These were probably the same people who are mentioned book iii. c. 90. the change of the *a* for *e* being agreeably to the Ionic dialect.

The Moschi had helmets of wood, small bucklers, and short spears with long iron points.

LXXVIII. The Tibareni, Macrones, and Mosynœci, were in all respects habited like the Moschi. Ariomardus, son of Darius, and of Parmys daughter of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, commanded the Moschi and the Tibareni. Artayctes, son of Chorasmes, who was governor of Sestos on the Hellespont, conducted the Macrones and Mosynœci.

LXXIX. The Mares*, after the fashion of their country, had net-work casques, small leather bucklers, and spears. The Colchians had helmets of wood, small bucklers made of the hard hides of oxen, short spears, and swords. Pharandates, son of Teaspes, commanded the Mares and the Colchians. The Allarodii and Saspines were dressed like the Col[illegible]ns, and led by Masistius, son of Siromitres.

LXXX. The people who came from the islands of the Red Sea †, to which those who labour under the king's displeasure are exiled,

* There were several tribes of this name, if they were the same people with the Mardii, as probably they were. See Rennell, p. 283.

† Perhaps it would have been more correct to have called

were habited and armed like the Medes: they were led by Mardontes son of Bagæus, who two years afterward was slain at the battle of Mycale, where he commanded.

LXXXI. These were the nations who proceeded over the continent, and composed the infantry of the army. Their leaders who marshalled and numbered them, I have already specified: they appointed also the captains of thousands and ten thousands, who again chose the centurions and leaders of ten. The different forces and nations had also other officers, but those whom I have named were the principal commanders.

LXXXII. The generals in chief of all the infantry were Mardonius, son of Gobryas; Trintatæchmes, son of Artabanus, who had given his opinion against the Grecian war; and Smerdones, son of Otanes; which last two were sons of two brothers of Darius, the uncles [illegible]rxes. To the above may be ad[illegible] Masistes, son of Darius by Atossa; Gergis, son of Arinus; and Megabyzus, son of Zopyrus[66].

---

this the Erythrean, which comprehended the Persian Gulph. The islands of the ocean were too few to answer the description.—See Rennell, p. 291.

66 *Zopyrus.*]—This was the famous Zopyrus through whose means Darius became master of Babylon.—See book iii. c. 160.

LXXXIII. These were the commanders of all the infantry, except of the ten thousand chosen Persians, who were led by Hydarnes, son of Hydarnes. These were called the immortal band, and for this reason, if any of them died in battle, or by any disease, his place was immediately supplied. They were thus never more nor less than ten thousand. The Persians surpassed all the rest of the army, not only in magnificence but valour. Their armour I have before described; they were also remarkable for the quantity of gold which adorned them; they had with them carriages for their women, and a vast number of attendants splendidly provided. They had also camels and beasts of burden to carry their provisions, beside those for the common occasions of the army.

LXXXIV. All the above nations are capable of serving on horseback; but on this expedition those only constituted the cavalry, which I shall enumerate. The Persian horse, except a small number, whose caparisons were ornamented with brass and iron, were habited like the infantry.

LXXXV. There appeared of the Sagartii a body of eight thousand horse. These people lead a pastoral life, were originally of Persian descent, and use the Persian language: their dress is something betwixt the Persian and the Pactyan; they have no offensive weapons, either of

iron or brass, except their daggers; their principal dependance in action is upon cords made of twisted leather, which they use in this manner: when they engage an enemy they throw out these cords, having a noose at the extremity; if they entangle[67] in them either horse or man, they without difficulty put them to death.—These forces were embodied with the Persians.

LXXXVI. The cavalry of the Medes, and also of the Cissians, are accoutred like their infantry. The Indian horse likewise were armed like their foot; but beside led horses they had chariots of war, drawn by horses and wild asses[68].

---

[67] *If they entangle.*]—A similar mode of fighting was practised by those of the Roman gladiators who were called the Retiarii: beneath their bucklers they carried a kind of net, which, when the opportunity presented itself, they threw over the head of their adversaries the Secutores, and, thus entangled, put them to death with a ki[illegible] trident which constituted their offensive weapon.—*T.*

See a full account of these glad[illegible] in Giff[illegible]lation of Juvenal, Sat. 8.

[68] *Wild asses.*]—M. Larcher renders ονοι αγριοι, zebres, but I do not see that this necessarily follows. The zebra is certainly a species of wild ass; but I conceive that every wild ass is not a zebra. Buffon makes mention of wild asses very distinct from the zebræ. The French translator supports his opinion from the description of the ονος αγριος in Oppian, L. iii. v. 183; but this is by no means convincing to me.—*T.*

The zebras are spoken of very particularly in the first book of Xenophon's Anabasis, as being remarkably swift of

The armour of the Bactrian and Caspian horse and foot were alike. This was also the case with the Africans, only it is to be observed that these last all fought from chariots. The Paricanian horse were also equipped like their foot, as were the Arabians, all of whom had camels, by no means inferior to the horse in swiftness.

LXXXVII. These were the cavalry, who formed a body of eighty thousand, exclusive of camels and chariots. They were drawn up in regular order, and the Arabians were disposed in the rear, that the horses might not be terrified, as a horse cannot endure a camel [69].

LXXXVIII. Harmamithres and Tithæus, the sons of Datis, commandedt he cavalry: they had shared this command with Pharnuches, but he had been left at Sardis indisposed. As the troops were marching from Sardis he met with an un-

foot, and very good eating. Colonel Malcolm and his party saw them in their journey across Persia, and represent them as exceedingly swift.

[69] *Cannot endure a camel.*]—It appears, on further examination, that the antipathy between the horse and the camel is imaginary. I understand that in the East horses and camels are often mixed in caravans. It will not escape the reader, that no mention is here made of elephants, nor does Herodotus appear to have known that this animal was common in India.—*T.*

fortunate accident: a dog ran under the feet of his horse, which being terrified reared up and threw his rider. Pharnuches was in consequence seized with a vomiting of blood, which finally terminated in a consumption. His servants, in compliance with the orders of their master, led the horse to the place where the accident happened, and there cut off his legs at the knees. Thus was Pharnuches deprived of his command.

LXXXIX. The number of the triremes was twelve hundred and seven[70]; of these the Phœnicians, in conjunction with the Syrians of Pa-

---

[70] *Twelve hundred and seven.*]—I give the account of the Persian fleet as stated by Herodotus, that the reader may compare it with that which follows of Diodorus Siculus:

The Phœnician vessels were - - -	300
Ægyptians - - - - -	200
Cyprians - - - - -	150
Cilicians - - - - -	[illegible]
Pamphylians - - - -	30
Lycians - - - - -	50
Dorians - - - - -	30
Carians - - - - -	70
Ionians - - - - -	100
Islanders - - - - -	17
Æolians - - - - -	60
People of the Hellespont - -	100
	1,207

lestine, furnished three hundred. They who served on board them had on their heads helmets nearly resembling those of the Greeks; they had breast-plates made of linen, bucklers without bosses, and javelins. This people, by their own account, once inhabited the coasts of the Red Sea[71], but migrated from thence to the

---

According to Diodorus Siculus,

The Greeks had - - - - -	320
The Dorians - - - - -	40
Æolians - - - - -	40
Ionians - - - - -	100
Hellespontians - - - -	80
Islanders - - - - -	50
Ægyptians - - - - -	200
Phœnicians - - - - -	300
Cilicians - - - - -	80
Carians - - - - -	80
Pamphylians - - - -	40
Lyc[illegible] - - - - -	40
Cyprians - - - - -	150
	1,200

71 *Coasts of the Red Sea.*]—There were Phœnicians of different countries: they were to be found upon the Sinus Persicus, upon the Sinus Arabicus, in Ægypt, in Crete, in Africa, in Epirus, and even in Attica.—See *Hesychius.* Φοινικες γενος τι Αθηνησι. There is a race of Phœnicians among the Athenians. In short, it was a title introduced at Sidon and the coast adjoining, by people from Ægypt; and who the people were that brought it, may be known from several passages in ancient history, but particularly from an extract in Eusebius.—See *Bryant*, vol. i. 324, 325.

maritime parts of Syria; all which district, as far as Ægypt, is denominated Palestine*. The Ægyptians furnished two hundred vessels: they wore on their heads casques made of net-work; their shields were of a convex form, having large bosses; their spears were calculated for sea-service, and they had huge battle-axes. Their forces, in general, had breast-plates, and large swords.

XC. The people of Cyprus supplied fifty vessels: as to their armour, their princes wore mitres on their heads; the troops wore tunics, but were in other respects habited like the Greeks. The Cyprians, according to their own account, are variously composed of the people of Salamis and Athens; some also came from Arcadia, some from Cythnus, others from Phœnicia, and others from Æthiopia.

XCI. From Cilicia came one hundred ships. This people had a kind of helmet peculiar to their country, and a small buckler made of the untanned hide of an ox; they had also tunics of

* Thus it appears, says Rennell, that Herodotus discriminated Phœnicia and Palestine from Syria at large; and that the name by which he denominates Palestine, is usually Syria of Palestine.—p. 243.

wool: each of them had two spears, and a sword not unlike those of Ægypt. Formerly they were called Hypachæans: they were named Cilicians from Cilex the Phœnician, the son of Agenor. The Pamphylians brought thirty ships, and were accoutred like the Greeks: they are descended from those who after the destruction of Troy were dispersed under Amphilochus and Calchas[72].

XCII. Fifty ships were furnished by the Lycians, who were defended with breast-plates and a kind of buskin: beside their spears, they had bows made of cornel wood; their arrows were of reeds, but not feathered. From their shoulders the skin of a goat was suspended, and on their heads they wore a cap with a plume of feathers: they had also axes and daggers. They are de-

---

[72] *Calchas.*]—With the name of Calchas every one is acquainted; but few perhaps know the end he met with. Mopsus, son of Marto and Apollo, had at the death of his mother, by right of inheritance, the oracle of Apollo at Claros. About this period Calchas, who after the taking of Troy led a wandering life, arrived at Colophon. The two seers maintained a long and obstinate dispute, till at length Amphimachus king of Lycia terminated their difference. Mopsus dissuaded him from going to war, foretelling that he would be defeated; Calchas, on the contrary, advised him to go, assuring him he would prove victorious. Amphimachus having been overcome, Mopsus received greater honours than ever, and Calchas put himself to death.—*Larcher.*

scended from the Cretans, and were once called Termilæ; afterward they took the name of Lycians, from Lycus, an Athenian, the son of Pandion.

XCIII. The Dorians of Asia came in thirty vessels: these being originally from the Peloponnese, were provided with Grecian arms. The Carians had seventy ships, and were equipped in every respect like the Greeks, with the addition of axes and daggers. We have in a former place made mention of the name, by which they were originally known.

XCIV. The Ionians, armed like the Greeks, appeared with a fleet of one hundred ships. According to the Grecian account, this people, when they inhabited that part of the Peloponnese called Achaia, before the arrival of Danaus and Xuthus, were called the Pelasgian Ægialians. They were afterward named Ionians, from Ion, son of Xuthus.

XCV. The islanders[73], in Grecian armour,

---

[73] *The islanders.*]—These Ionian islanders could not be either those of Chios or of Samos. These assembled at the Panionium, and were a part of the twelve cities, which these islanders were not. Diodorus Siculus adds also the inhabitants of Chios and of Samos to the Ionians, and makes,

were in seventeen vessels. These, once Pelasgian, were ultimately termed Ionian, for the same reason as the twelve Ionian cities founded by the Athenians. The Æolians brought sixty ships, and were armed in the Grecian manner: these also, according to the Greeks, were once Pelasgi. The inhabitants of the Hellespont, those of Abydos excepted, in conjunction with the people of Pontus, furnished one hundred vessels: those of Abydos, by the command of the king, remained to defend the bridges. The Hellespontians, being a mixt colony of Ionians and Dorians, were armed like the Greeks.

XCVI. In each of these vessels were detachments of Medes, Persians, and Sacæ. The best mariners were the Phœnicians, and of the people of Phœnicia, the Sidonians. The sea and land forces of all these nations, were under the immediate command of their own officers. The mention of their particular names, as it is not

like Herodotus, a distinction betwixt them and the islanders. But who then were they? Diodorus Siculus informs us.—The king, says he, was joined by all those islands betwixt the Cyaneæ and the promontories of Triopium and Sunium. Thus it appears that they were the isles of Ceos, or Cea, as the Latins have it, Naxos, Sephros, Seriphos, Andros, and Tenos, which were Tienian, and founded by the Athenians, as appears from Herodotus, book viii. chap. 46, 48; and from Thucydides, book vii. c. 57, where it should be read Τηνιοι and not Τηιοι.—*Valcnaer.*

essential to my purpose, I shall omit. It would indeed prove an uninteresting labour, as every city had its own commander, who without any great distinction or authority, merely helped to swell the mass of the army. Those who had the principal conduct of the war, I have already enumerated, as well as the Persian officers to whom the command of each nation was assigned.

XCVII. The commanders in chief of the sea forces were *, Ariabignes, son of Darius, Prex-

---

* The religious scruples which prevented the Persians from making any voyages by sea, were known to the ancients. Pliny relates of one of the Magi, who was sent on an embassy from Tiridates to the Emperor Nero: "Navigare noluerat, quoniam expuere in Maria, aliisque mortaliuni necessitatibus violare naturam eam, fas non putant." Nat. Hist. lib. xxx. c. 6. This aversion to the sea they carried so far, that, according to the observation of a well-informed historian, there was not a city of any note in their empire built upon the sea-coast. Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxiii. c. 6. We learn from Dr. Hyde, how intimately these ideas were connected with the doctrines of Zoroaster. Rel. Vet. Pers. cap. vi. In all the wars of the Persians with Greece, the fleets of the Great King consisted entirely of ships furnished by the Phœnicians, Syrians, the conquered provinces of the Lesser Asia, and the islands adjacent. Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus mention the quota furnished by each country, in order to compose the fleet of twelve hundred ships, with which Xerxes invaded Greece; and among these, there is not one belonging to Persia. At the same time it is proper to observe, that, according to Herodotus, whose authority is

aspes, son of Aspathines, and Megabyzus, son of Megabates, together with Achæmenes, another son of Darius: of these, Ariabignes, son of Darius, by a daughter of Gobryas, had the conduct of the Ionian and Carian fleets. The Ægyptians were commanded by Achæmenes, brother of Xerxes, both on the father and mother's side. The two other generals conducted the rest of the fleet to the amount of three thousand vessels, which were composed of vessels of thirty and fifty oars, of Cercuri[74], and of long transports for the cavalry.

XCVIII. After the generals, the more distinguished officers of the fleet were the Sidonian Tetramnestus, son of Anysus; Martes of Tyre, son of Siromus; Nerbalus the Arabian, son of

---

unexceptionable with regard to this point, Ariabignes, a son of Darius, acted as admiral of the Persian fleet, and had several satraps of high rank under his command; and both Persians and Medes served as soldiers on board of it, Herod. lib. vii. c. 96, 97. By what motives, or what authority they were induced to act in this manner, I cannot explain. From some religious scruples similar to those of the Persians, many of the natives of Indostan, in our own time, refuse to embark on board a ship, and to serve at sea; and yet, on some occasions, the Sepoys in the service of the European powers, have got the better of these scruples.—Robertson on Ancient India, 352.

[74] *Cercuri.*]—These, according to Pliny, were a particular kind of vessel, invented by the Cyprians.

Agbalus; the Cilician Syennesis, son of Oromedon; and Cyberniscus, the son of Sicas. To these may be added Gortes, son of Chersis, and Timonax, son of Timagoras, both of them Cyprians, with the three Carian leaders, Histiæus, son of Tymnis, Pigres, son of Seldomus, and Damasithymus, son of Candaules.

XCIX. The other leaders I forbear to specify, it not appearing necessary; but it is impossible not to speak, and with admiration, of Artemisia[75], who, though a female, served in this

---

[75] *Artemisia.*]—There were two of this name, both natives, and queens of Caria, from which circumstance they have by different writers been frequently confounded. Pliny, Hardouin, and Scaliger have been guilty of this error, and have ascribed to the first what is true only of the last.—See *Bayle*, article Artemisia. Nothing can however be more clear and satisfactory, than that the Artemisia who accompanied Xerxes was the daughter of Lygdamis. The Artemisia whose mausoleum in honour of her husband's memory has rendered her so illustrious, was the daughter of Hecatemnes, and lived at a much later period. The daughter of Lygdamis, of whom it is our business to speak, was certainly a great and illustrious character. Her wisdom is very conspicuous, from the excellent advice which she gave Xerxes; and her valour was eminently distinguished, above that of all the men, in the battle of Salamis. See in a subsequent paragraph the speech of Xerxes concerning her, which has been imitated by Justin; "Artemisia queen of Halicarnassus, who joined her forces with Xerxes, appeared amongst the forwardest commanders in the hottest engagements: and as

Grecian expedition. On the death of her husband she enjoyed the supreme authority, for her son was not yet grown up, and her great spirit and vigour of mind alone induced her to exert herself on this occasion. She was the daughter of Lygdamis, by her father's side of Halicarnassus, by her mother of Cretan descent. She had the conduct of those of Halicarnassus, Cos, Nisyros, and Calydne. She furnished five ships, which next to those of the Sidonians, were the best in the fleet. She was also distinguished among all the allies for the salutary counsels which she gave the king. The people I have recited as subject to Artemisia, were I believe all of them Dorians. The Halicarnassians were originally of Træzene, the rest of Epidaurus.—Such were the maritime forces.

C. Xerxes having ranged and numbered his armament, was desirous to take a survey of them all. Mounted in his car, he examined each nation in their turn. To all of them he proposed certain questions, the replies to which were noted

---

on the man's side there was an effeminate cowardice, on the woman's was observed a masculine courage."

She is honourably mentioned by a variety of writers, but at length fell a victim to the tender passion. She was violently in love with a native of Abydos, named Dardanus; to rid herself of which she took the celebrated lover's leap from the promontory of Leucas, and perished.—*T.*

down by his secretaries. In this manner he proceeded from first to last through all the ranks[76], both of horse and foot. When this was done, the fleet also was pushed off from land, whilst

---

[76] *Through all the ranks.*]—The procession of Xerxes in his car through the ranks of his army is well described by Glover in his Leonidas, and seems to afford a fine subject for an historical painting.

> The monarch will'd, and suddenly he heard
> His trampling horses—High on silver wheels
> The iv'ry car with azure sapphires shone,
> Cærulean beryls, and the jasper green,
> The emerald, the ruby's glowing blush,
> The flaming topaz, with its golden beam,
> The pearl, th' empurpled amethyst, and all
> The various gems which India's mines afford,
> To deck the pomp of kings. In burnish'd gold
> A sculptur'd eagle from behind display'd
> His stately neck, and o'er the royal head
> Outstretch'd his dazzling wings. Eight generous steeds,
> Which on the fam'd Nisæan plain were nurs'd,
> In wintry Media, drew the radiant car.
> — — — — At the signal bound
> Th' attentive steeds, the chariot flies; behind
> Ten thousand horse in thunder sweep the field—
> He now draws nigh. Th' innumerable host
> Roll back by nations, and admit their lord
> With all his satraps. As from crystal domes
> Built underneath an arch of pendent seas,
> When that stern power whose trident rules the floods,
> With each cærulean deity ascends
> Thron'd in his pearly chariot—all the deep
> Divides its bosom to th' emerging god,
> So Xerxes rode between the Asian world,
> On either side receding. *Leonidas.*

the monarch, exchanging his chariot for a Sidonian vessel, on the deck of which he sat beneath a golden canopy, passed slowly the heads of the ships, proposing in like manner questions to each, and noting down the answers. The commanders had severally moored their vessels at about four plethra from shore, in one uniform line, with their sterns out to sea, and their crews under arms, as if prepared for battle. Xerxes viewed them, passing betwixt their prows and the shore.

CI. When he had finished his survey, he went on shore; and sending for Demaratus, the son of Ariston, who accompanied him in this expedition against Greece, he thus addressed him: "From "you, Demaratus, who are a Greek, and, as I "understand from yourself and others, of no "mean or contemptible city, I am desirous of "obtaining information: do you think that the "Greeks will presume to make any resistance "against me? For my own part, not to mention "their want of unanimity, I cannot think that "all the Greeks, joined to all the inhabitants "of the west, would be able to withstand my "power: what is your opinion on this subject?" "Sir," said Demaratus in reply, "shall I say "what is true, or only what is agreeable[77]?"

---

[77] *Or only what is agreeable.*]—This naturally brings to mind the old proverb in the Andria of Terence:

Obsequium

Xerxes commanded him to speak the truth, assuring him that he would be as agreeable to him as ever.

CII. "Since," answered Demaratus, "you "command me to speak the truth, it shall be my "care to deliver myself in such a manner that no "one hereafter, speaking as I do, shall be con- "victed of falsehood. Greece has ever been the "child of poverty; for its virtue it is indebted "to the severe wisdom and discipline by which it "has tempered its poverty, and repelled its op-

---

Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.

Which expression Cicero, in his Treatise de Amicitia, reprobates with proper dignity.

See also the following lines, quoted in Athenæus, from Agatho:

Ει μεν φρασω τ'αληθες ουχ σ' ενφρανω
Ει δε ενφρανω τι σ' ουχι τ'αληθες φρασω.

That is, in English, If I speak the truth I shall not please you; if I please you I shall not speak the truth.

If, as appears from Xenophon in particular, and from various other writers, that to speak the truth constituted an indispensable part of Persian education, these words of Demaratus must have appeared an insult to Xerxes, not to be justified by any affected humility, or any real difference of rank. What Homer thought on this subject may be gathered from the two noble lines which he puts into the mouth of Achilles:

Who dares think one thing and another tell,
My soul detests him as the gates of hell.

T.

" pressors. To this praise all the Dorian Greeks " are entitled, but I shall now speak of the Lace- " dæmonians only. You may depend upon it that " your propositions, which threaten Greece with " servitude, will be rejected; and if all the other " Greeks side with you against them, the Lace- " dæmonians will engage you in battle. Make " no enquiries as to their numbers for if they " shall have but a thousand men, or even fewer, " they will fight you[78]."

CIII. " What, Demaratus," answered Xerxes, smiling, " think you that a thousand men will " engage so vast a host? Tell me, you who, as " you say, have been their prince, would you " now willingly engage with ten opponents? If " your countrymen be what you describe them, " according to your own principles you, who are

---

[78] *Will fight you.*]—In close imitation of the passage before us, the author of Leonidas makes Xerxes thus address Demaratus:

> ——— Now declare
> If yonder Grecians will oppose their march.
> To him the exile: Deem not, mighty lord,
> I will deceive thy goodness by a tale,
> To give them glory who degraded mine;
> Nor be the king offended while I use
> The voice of truth—the Spartans never fly.
> Contemptuous smil'd the monarch, and resum'd,
> Wilt thou, in Lacedæmon once supreme,
> Encounter twenty Persians?

" their prince, should be equal to two of them.
" If, therefore, one of them be able to contend
" with ten of my soldiers, you may be reasonably
" expected to contend with twenty: such ought
" to be the test of your assertions. But if your
" countrymen really resemble in form and size
" you, and such other Greeks as appear in my
" presence, it should seem that what you say is
" dictated by pride and insolence; for how can
" it be shewn that a thousand, or ten thousand,
" or even fifty thousand men, all equally free,
" and not subject to the will of an individual,
" could oppose so great an army? Granting
" them to have five thousand men, we have still
" a majority of a thousand to one; they who
" like us are under the command of one person,
" from the fear of their leader, and under the
" immediate impression of the lash, are animated
" with a spirit contrary to their nature, and are
" made to attack a number greater than their
" own; but they who are urged by no constraint
" will not do this. If these Greeks were even
" equal to us in number, I cannot think they
" would dare to encounter Persians. The virtue
" to which you allude, is to be found among
" ourselves, though the examples are certainly
" not numerous; there are of my Persian guards
" men who will singly contend with three

" Greeks[79]. The preposterous language which " you use can only, therefore, proceed from your " ignorance."

CIV. " I knew, my lord, from the first," returned Demaratus, " that by speaking truth I " should offend you. I was induced to give you " this representation of the Spartans, from your " urging me to speak without reserve. You may " judge, sir, what my attachment must be to " those who, not content with depriving me of " my paternal dignities, drove me ignominiously " into exile. Your father received, protected, " and supported me[80]: no prudent man will " treat with ingratitude the kindness of his be- " nefactor. I will never presume to engage in " fight with ten men, nor even with two, nor

---

79 *With three Greeks.*]—This vain boast of Xerxes was in the end punished by Polydamus. Darius, natural son of Artaxerxes, and who by the favour of the Persians succeeded to the throne, had heard of his remarkable exploits; having by promises allured him to Susa, Polydamus challenged three of those whom the Persians call the immortal, encountered them all at once, and slew them.—*Larcher.*

80 *Protected and supported me.*]—That prince gave him the towns of Pergamus, Teuthrania, and Halisarnia, which Eurysthenes and Procles, descendants of Demaratus, enjoyed in the 95th Olympiad, who joined themselves to Thimbron the Lacedæmonian general, when he passed into Asia Minor to make war on Persia.—*Larcher.*

" indeed willingly with one; but if necessity de-
" manded, or danger provoked me, I would not
" hesitate to fight with any one of those, who
" is said to be a match for three Greeks. The
" Lacedæmonians, when they engage in single
" combat, are certainly not inferior to other men,
" but in a body they are not to be equalled. Al-
" though free, they are not so without some reserve;
" the law is their superior[81], of which they stand
" in greater awe than your subjects do of you:

---

[81] *The law is their superior.*]—Thomson, in his Poem to Liberty, gives this just and animated description of Sparta:

— — — Spread on Eurota's bank,
Amid a circle of soft-rising hills,
The patient Sparta stood, the sober, hard,
And man-subduing city, which no shape
Of pain could conquer, nor of pleasure charm.
Lycurgus there built, on the solid base
Of equal life, so well a temper'd state,
Where mix'd each government in each just poise,
Each power so checking and supporting each,
That firm for ages and unmov'd it stood,
The fort of Greece, without one giddy hour,
One shock of faction, or of party rage:
For, drain'd the springs of wealth, corruption there
Lay wither'd at the root. Thrice happy land,
Had not neglected art with weedy vice
Confounded sunk; but if Athenian arts
Lov'd not the soil, yet then the calm abode
Of wisdom, virtue, philosophic ease,
Of manly sense, and wit in frugal phrase,
Confin'd and press'd into laconic force;

" they are obedient to what it commands[82], and " it commands them always not to fly from the " field of battle, whatever may be the number " of their adversaries. It is their duty to preserve " their ranks, to conquer or to die[83]. If what I " say seem to you absurd, I am willing in future " to be silent. I have spoken what I think, be- " cause the king commanded me, to whom may " all he desires be accomplished."

There too, by rooting thence still treach'rous self,
The public and the private grew the same;
The children of the nursing public all,
And at its table fed: for that they toil'd,
For that they liv'd entire, and ev'n for that
The tender mother urg'd her son to die.

Liberty, part ii. 108, &c.

Dr. Johnson says truly of this poem, that none of Thomson's works have been so little regarded: I may, nevertheless, venture to promise whoever has not perused it, that it will very well pay his attention.—*T.*

[82] *What it commands.*]—" With the Lacedæmonians," says Plato, " the law is the king and master: and men are not the tyrants of the laws." " The Deity," says he, in another place, " is the law of wise and moderate men; pleasure that of men who are foolish and intemperate."—*Larcher.*

[83] *Conquer or to die.*]—

— — — — O conceive not, prince,
That Spartans want an object where to fix
Their eyes in reverence, in obedient dread.
To them more awful than the name of king
To Asia's trembling millions, is the law,
Whose sacred voice enjoins them to confront
Unnumber'd foes, to vanquish or to die.—*Leonidas.*

CV. Xerxes smiled at these words of Demaratus, whom he dismissed without anger, civilly from his presence. After the above conference, he removed from Doriscus the governor who had been placed there by Darius, and promoted in his room Mascamis, son of Megadostis. He then passed through Thrace with his army, toward Greece.

CVI. To this Mascamis, as to the bravest of all the governors appointed either by himself or by Darius, Xerxes sent presents every year, and Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, continued to do the same to his descendants. Before this expedition against Greece, there had constantly been governors both in Thrace and the Hellespont, all of whom, except Mascamis, the Greeks afterward expelled: he alone retained Doriscus in his subjection, in defiance of the many and repeated exertions made to remove him. It was in remembrance of these services, that he and all his descendants received presents from the kings of Persia.

CVII. The only one of all those expelled by the Greeks, who enjoyed the good opinion of Xerxes, was Boges[84], the governor of Eïon;

---

[84] *Boges.*]—This proper name is by Pausanias written

he always mentioned this man in terms of esteem, and all his descendants were honourably regarded in Persia. Boges was not undeserving his great reputation: when he was besieged by the Athenians, under the conduct of Cimon, son of Miltiades, he might, if he had thought proper, have retired into Asia; this he refused, and defended himself to the last extremity, from apprehensions that the king might ascribe his conduct to fear. When no provisions were left, he caused a large pile to be raised; he then slew his children, his wife, his concubines, and all his family, and threw them into the fire; he next cast all the gold and silver of the place from the walls into the Strymon; lastly, he leaped himself into the flames. This man is, therefore, very deservedly extolled by the Persians.

CVIII. Xerxes, in his progress from Doriscus to Greece, compelled all the people among whom he came to join his army. All this tract of country, as far as Thessaly, as I have before remarked, had been made tributary to the king, first by Megabyzus, and finally by Mardonius. Leaving Doriscus, he first passed beyond the Samothracian forts, the last of which, toward

---

Boes. The expedition of Cimon is mentioned by Thucydides, Æschines, and others.—This Cimon was the grandson of the Cimon spoken of in Livy, book vi. chap. 34, 39.

the west, is called Mesembria; contiguous to this is Stryme, a Thasian town. The river Lissus waters both these towns, the streams of which, on the present occasion, were insufficient for the army. This district was once called Galaïce, now Briantica, and properly belonged to the Ciconians.

CIX. Xerxes having passed the exhausted bed of the Lissus, continued his march beyond the Grecian cities of Maronea, Dicæa, and Abdera[85]; he passed along the following lakes in the vicinity of these towns: the Ismaris, betwixt Maronea and Stryma, the Bistonis in the neighbourhood of Dicæa, which is filled by the two streams of the Trauus and Compsatus. Near Abdera is no lake of importance; but the king

---

[85] *Abdera.*]—See note to chapter 168 of book the first; I there observed that Abdera produced many illustrious characters, yet it is thus stigmatized by Juvenal in his tenth Satire. Speaking of Democritus, he says, he was one

— — — cujus prudentia monstrat
Summos posse viros et magna exempla daturos
Vervecum in patria, crassoque sub aëre nasci.

Which lines are thus translated by Gifford; Dryden's version is very faulty:

Yes, in those times, in every varied scene,
The good old man found matter for his spleen:
A wond'rous sage! whose story makes it clear,
That men may rise in folly's atmosphere;
Beneath Bœotian fogs, of soul sublime,
And great examples to the coming time.

passed near the Nestus, which empties itself into the ocean. He proceeded onward through the more midland cities, in one of which is a lake almost of thirty stadia in circumference, full of fish, but remarkably salt: the waters of this proved only sufficient for the beasts of burden. The name of the city is Pistirus*. These Grecian and maritime cities were to the left of Xerxes as he passed them.

CX. The nations of Thrace, through which he marched are these: the Pæti, Ciconians, Bistones, Sapæi, Dersæi, Edonians, and the Satræ. The inhabitants of the maritime towns followed by sea; those inland, which I have already specified, were, except the Satræ, compelled to accompany[86] the army by land.

CXI. The Satræ, as far as I know, never were subduced; they alone, of all the Thracians, have continued to my memory, an independent nation. They are remarkable for their valour. They in-

---

* Larcher is of opinion, that the word has been altered by copyists, and that we should read Topiris.—See his Table Geographique.

86 *Compelled to accompany.*]—Thus we find were these nations compelled to serve under Cyrus, who were betwixt him and Crœsus, not as associates, but as prisoners of war. Many of them were reduced from being horsemen to serve on foot, and in a way, says Xenophon, which Cyrus accounted as in the highest degree servile, as slingers.—*T.*

habit lofty mountains covered with snow, but abounding in all kinds of trees: upon the summit of one of their highest hills, they have an oracle of Bacchus*. The interpreters of these divine oracles are the Bessi[87]: a priestess makes the responses, as at Delphi, and with the same ambiguity.

CXII. Xerxes continued to advance, and passed by two Pierian cities, one called Phagra, the other Pergamos; to his right he left the mountain Pangæus, which is of great extent and height, and has mines both of gold and silver; these are worked by the Pierians and Odomanti, and particularly by the Satræ.

CXIII. Beyond Pangæus, to the north, are the Pæonians, the Doberes, and the Pæoples. Xerxes passed all these, keeping a westward direction, till he came to the river Strymon, and the city of Eïon: Boges, the governor of this last place, whom we have before mentioned, was then living. The country round Pangæus is

* Macrobius makes mention of this oracle, and tells us that the priest, before he delivered the sentiments of the god, drank a large quantity of wine; they must of course have been pure and perspicuous.—*T.*

87 *Bessi.*]—Ovid makes mention of these Bessi in no very flattering terms:

Vivere quam miserum est inter Bessosque Getasque.—*T.*

called Phillis, it extends to the west as far as the Angitis, which empties itself into the Strymon; to the south it continues till it meets the Strymon. To this river the magi offered a sacrifice of white horses[88].

CXIV. After performing these and many other religious rites to the Strymon, they proceeded through the Edonian district of the Nine Ways, to where they found bridges thrown over the Strymon: when they heard that this place was

---

[88] *Sacrifice of white horses.*]—The particular manner in which they performed these sacrifices, Strabo thus describes:

When the Persians come to a lake, a river, or a fountain, they sink a pit, and kill the victim, taking particular care that the pure water in the vicinity be not stained with blood, which would contaminate it. They then place the flesh of the victim upon branches of myrtle or laurel, and burn it with small sticks: during this they chant hymns, and offer libations of oil mixed with milk and honey, which they pour not into the fire, but upon the ground. Their hymns are very long, and whilst they are singing them they hold in their hands a bundle of short pieces of briar.

To which may be added the following particulars:

When the Persians sacrificed they wore garlands, which we learn from the first book of Herodotus, and the third book of the Cyropædia of Xenophon. They sometimes burnt all, and sometimes only part of the victim, feasting on the remainder.—In the 16th chapter of Leviticus, the English reader may find a general similitude to the Persian mode of sacrifice, and indeed to that of all the Oriental nations. See also on this subject the second Dissertation of Hutchinson, prefixed to his Cyropædia. And compare 2 Samuel i. 13, et seq.—*T.*

named the Nine Ways, they buried there alive nine youths* and as many virgins, natives of the country. This custom of burying alive is common in Persia; and I have been informed that Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, when she was of an advanced age, commanded fourteen Persian children of illustrious birth to be interred alive in honour of that deity, who, as they suppose, exists under the earth.

CXV. Marching still forward, they left on the shore, to the west, a Grecian city called Argilus; this, as well as the country beyond it, is called Bisaltia: leaving then to the left the gulph, which is near the temple of Neptune, they crossed the plain called Sileum, and passing the Greek city of Stagirus, came to Acanthus. The people of all these places, of mount Pangæus, together with those whom we have enumerated, they carried along with them: they who dwelt on the coast went by sea; they who lived distant from the sea, went by land. The line of country through which Xerxes led his army, is to the present day held in such extreme veneration by the Thracians, that they never disturb or cultivate it.

---

* See Plutarch's Tract on Superstition, where it is affirmed that on this occasion twelve men were buried alive. It was a common practice in Persia.

CXVI. On his arrival at Acanthos, the Persian monarch interchanged the rites of hospitality with the people, and presented each with a Median vest[89]: he was prompted to this conduct by the particular zeal which they discovered toward the war, and from their having completed the work of the canal.

CXVII. Whilst Xerxes still continued at Acanthos, Artachæes, who had superintended the works of the canals, died; he was of the race of the Achæmenidæ, in great favour with the king, and the tallest of all the Persians; he wanted but four fingers of five royal cubits[90], and was also remarkable for his great strength of voice. The king was much afflicted at his loss, and buried him with great magnificence, the whole army being employed in erecting a monument to his memory. The Acanthians, in compliance with an oracle, invoke him by name, and pay him the honours of a hero. Xerxes always considered the death of Artachæes as a great calamity.

---

89 *Median vest.*]—This was invented by Semiramis, the wife of Ninus; it was so very graceful, that the Medes adopted it after they had conquered Asia; the Persians followed their example.—*Larcher.*

90 *Five royal cubits.*]—Supposing our author to mean here the Babylonian measure, this, according to the computation of D'Anville, would be seven feet eight inches high, or somewhat more than eight feet of our measure.

CXVIII. Those Greeks who entertained the Persian army, and provided a banquet for the king, were reduced to extreme misery, and compelled to abandon their country. On account of their cities, distributed along the continent, the Thasians also feasted Xerxes and his forces: Antipater, the son of Orgis, a man of great reputation, was selected by his countrymen to preside on the occasion; by his account it appeared, that four hundred talents of silver were expended for this purpose.

CXIX. No less expense devolved upon the other cities, as appeared by the accounts delivered in by the different magistrates. As a long previous notice was given, preparations were made with suitable industry and magnificence. As soon as the royal will was made known by the heralds, the inhabitants of the several cities divided the corn which they possessed, and employed many months in reducing it to meal and flour. Some there were, who purchased at a great price the finest cattle they could procure, for the purpose of fattening them: others, with the same view of entertaining the army, provided birds both of the land and the water, which they preserved in cages and in ponds. Many employed themselves in making cups and goblets of gold and silver, with other utensils of the table: these last-mentioned articles were intended only for the

king himself, and his more immediate attendants; with respect to the army in general, it was thought sufficient to furnish them with provision. On the approach of the main body, a pavilion was erected, and properly prepared for the residence of the monarch, the rest of the troops remained in the open air. From the commencement of the feast to its conclusion, the fatigue of those who provided it is hardly to be expressed. The guests, after satisfying their appetite, passed the night on the place; the next morning, after tearing up the pavilion, and plundering its contents, they departed, without leaving any thing behind them.

CXX. Upon this occasion the witty remark of Megacreon of Abdera, has been handed down to posterity. He advised the Abderites of both sexes to go in procession to their temples, and there, in the attitude of supplicants, entreat the gods to continue in future to avert from them the half of their calamities. With respect to the past, he thought their gratitude was due to heaven, because Xerxes did not take two repasts in a day. If the Abderites, he observed, had been required to furnish a dinner as well as a supper, they must either have prevented the visit of the king by flight, or have been the most miserable of human beings.

CXXI. These people, severe as was the burden, fulfilled what had been enjoined them. From

Acanthus, Xerxes dismissed the commanders of his fleet, requiring them to wait his orders at Therma. Therma is situated near the Thermean gulph, to which it gives its name. He had been taught to suppose this the most convenient road; by the command of Xerxes, the army had marched from Doriscus to Acanthus, in three separate bodies: one went by the sea-coast, moving with the fleet, and was commanded by Mardonius and Masistes; a second proceeded through the midst of the continent, under the conduct of Tritantæchmes and Gergis; betwixt these went the third detachment, with whom was Xerxes himself, and who were led by Smerdomenes and Megabyzus.

CXXII. As soon as the royal mandate was issued, the navy entered the canal which had been cut at mount Athos, and which was continued to the gulph, contiguous to which are the cities of Assa, Pidorus, Singus, and Sarga. Taking on board a supply of troops from these places, the fleet advanced toward the Thermæan gulph, and doubling the Toronean promontory of Ampelos, passed by the following Grecian towns, from which also they took reinforcements of vessels and of men—Torona, Galepsus, Sermyla, Mecyberna, and Olynthus*. All the above district is now named Sithonia.

Olynthus.]—This city was totally destroyed by Philip of

CXXIII. From the promontory of Ampelos, they proceeded by a short cut to the Canastrean cape, the point, which, of all the district of Pallene, projects farthest into the sea; here they took with them other supplies of men and ships, from Potidæa, Aphytus, Neapolis, Ægа, Therambus, Scione, Menda, and Sana. These cities are situated in the region now called Pallene, known formerly by the name of Phlegra. Coasting onward to the station appointed, they supplied themselves with troops from the cities in the vicinity of Pallene, and the Thermæan gulph. The names of these, situated in what is now called the Cnossean region, are Lipaxus, Combrea, Lissæ, Gigonus, Campsa, Smila, and Ænea. From this last place, beyond which I shall forbear to specify the names of cities, the fleet went in a straight direction to the Thermean gulph, and the coast of Mygdonia; it ultimately arrived at Therma, the place appointed, as also at Sindus and Chalestra, on the river Axius, which separates Mygdonia from Bottiæis. In a narrow neck of this region, leading to the sea, are found the cities of Ichnæ and Pella.

CXXIV. The naval forces stationed themselves near the river Axium, the town of Therma, and the other neighbouring cities, where they

---

Macedon, nor does it appear that it was ever afterward restored.

waited for the king. Directing his march this way, Xerxes, with all his forces, left Acanthus, and proceeded over the continent through Pæonia and Crestonia, near the river Chidorus, which, taking its rise in Crestonia, flows through Mygdonia, and empties itself into a marsh above the river Axium.

CV. XX In the course of this march, the camels, which carried the provisions, were attacked by lions: in the darkness of the night they left their accustomed abode, and without molesting man or beast, fell upon the camels only[91]. That the lions should attack the camels

---

91 *The camels only.*]—"Herodotus," says Bellanger, in a note upon this passage, "was no great naturalist. The Arabians, and all those who inhabit the countries where are lions and camels, very well know that the lion loves the flesh of the camel."—See *Ælian, History of Animals*, book xvii. chap. 36.

Herodotus, it must be confessed, was not remarkably well versed in natural history; but if he had, it must always have appeared surprising to him, that lions, who had never before seen camels, or tasted their flesh, should attack them in preference to other beasts of burthen. That in Arabia lions should prefer a camel to a horse, may seem natural enough; they know by experience the flesh of these two animals, and that of the camel is doubtless more to their taste: but what could have given them this knowledge in Macedonia? I confess that this would have appeared no less marvellous to me than to Herodotus.—*Larcher.*

alone, animals they had never been known before to devour, or even by mistake to have seen, is a fact which I relate with surprise, and am totally unable to explain.

With respect to the lion, many preposterous errors anciently prevailed, which modern improvements and researches in natural history have corrected and improved; nevertheless the fact here recorded by Herodotus must ever appear marvellous. It seems in the first place, that the region of Europe in which he has fixed these lions is too cold for producing those animals, and according to every testimony it was then colder than at present.

It is now well known that the lion, however urged by hunger, does not attack its prey boldly and in an open manner, but insidiously: as the camels therefore were certainly on this occasion accompanied by a multitude, it is not easy to conceive how they could well be exposed to the attacks of the lions. In the next place, it is not likely that the lions should be allured to the camels by their smell, for it is now very well ascertained that the lion has by no means an acute sense of smelling. With respect to the taste of the lion, it is said, that having once tasted human blood, it prefers it to all other food. Of the tiger, which is only a different species of the same genus with the lion, both being feles, it is said, but I know not from what accuracy of experiment or observation, that it prefers the flesh of an African to that of an European, the European to the American; but the assertion may be reasonably disputed.—*T.*

The following extract however from Barrow, and indeed other information which I have received, seems to make it certain that the lion does actually prefer the flesh of the Black to any other food.

It seems to be a fact well established, that the lion prefers the flesh of a Hottentot to that of any other creature. He has frequently been singled out from a party of Dutch.—The horse, next to the Hottentot, seems to be his favourite

CXXVI. These places abound with lions and wild bulls, the large horns of which are carried to Greece. On the one side the Nestus, which flows through Abdera, and on the other the Achelous, passing through Acarnania, are the limits beyond which no lions are found[92]. In the intermediate region betwixt these two places, lions are produced: but no one has ever seen them in Europe, beyond the Nestus to the east, or beyond the Achelous to the west.

CXXVII. On his arrival at Therma, Xerxes halted with his army, which occupied the whole of the coast from Therma and Mygdonia*, as far as the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon, which

---

food, but on the sheep, perhaps on account of his woolly covering, which he is too indolent to uncase, he seldom deigns to fix his paw.

See in Barrow, vol. i. p. 392, a very curious anecdote of a Hottentot's escape from a lion.

92 *Lions are found.*]—Lions are not at all found in America, and fewer in Asia than in Africa. The natural history of the lion may be perused in Buffon with much information and entertainment; but more real knowledge concerning this noble animal may perhaps be obtained from Sparman's Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, than from any other writer on this subject.—*T.*

* There is doubtless a mistake in the original. Herodotus could not possibly mean the Haliacmon which runs through Pieria, and is perfectly distinct from the Lydias.—The author perhaps intended the Axius.—See Larcher's Table Geographique.—*T.*

forming the limits of Bottiæis and Macedonia, meet at last in the same channel. Here the Barbarians encamped: of all the rivers I have enumerated, the Chidorus, which flows from Crestonia, was the only one which did not afford sufficient water for the troops.

CXXVIII. Xerxes, viewing from Therma, Olympus and Ossa, Thessalian mountains of an extraordinary height, betwixt which was a narrow passage where the Peneus poured its stream, and where was an entrance to Thessaly, he was desirous of sailing to the mouth of this river. For the way he had determined to march as the safest was through the high country of Macedonia, by the Perræbi, and the town of Gonnus. He instantly however set about the accomplishment of his wish. He accordingly went on board a Sidonian vessel, for on such occasions he always preferred the ships of that country *; leaving here his land forces, he gave the signal for all the fleet to prepare to set sail. Arriving at the mouth of the Peneus, he observed it with particular admiration, and desired to know of his guides if it would not be possible to turn the stream, and make it empty itself into the sea in some other place.

* This incident proves what Xerxes thought of their nautical skill.—See c. 59 of this book, as well as c. 100, where he gave the same preference.

CXXIX. Thessaly is said to have been formerly a marsh, on all sides surrounded by lofty mountains*; to the east by Pelion and Ossa, whose bases meet each other; to the north by Olympus, to the west by Pindus; to the south by Othrys. The space betwixt these is Thessaly, into which depressed region many rivers pour their waters, but more particularly these five, the Peneus, the Apidanus, the Onochonus, the Enipeus, and the Pamisus: all these, flowing from the mountains which surround Thessaly into the plain, are till then distinguished by specific names. They afterward unite in one narrow channel, and are poured into the sea. After their union they take the name of the Peneus only. It is said, that formerly, before this aperture to the sea existed, all these rivers, and also the lake Bæbeis, had not as now any specific name, but that their body of water was as large as at present, and the whole of Thessaly, a sea. The Thessalians affirm, and not improbably, that the valley through which the Peneus flows, was formed by Neptune. Whoever supposes that Neptune causes earthquakes, and that the consequent chasms are the work of that deity, may on viewing this spot easily ascribe it to his power:

* Rennell remarks that this description of Thessaly as well as of the straits of Thermopylæ, prove how well Herodotus had considered the scenes of particular actions.

to me, the separation of these mountains appears to have been the effect of an earthquake[93].

CXXX. Xerxes* inquiring of his guides whether the Peneus might be conducted to the sea by any other channel, received from them, who were well acquainted with the situation of the country, this reply: "As Thessaly, O king, is "on every side encircled by mountains, the Pe- "neus can have no other communication with

---

93 *An earthquake.*]—The reader may see in Philostratus the description of a picture in which Neptune is represented as in the act of separating the mountains.—See also Strabo. The tradition that Ossa and Olympus were anciently different parts of the same mountain, existed from a very remote period in Greece; and, according to Mr. Wood, in his Essay on Homer, is not now obliterated. The valley through which the Peneus flows is the celebrated vale of Tempe, the fruitful theme of so many poetical effusions in ancient periods, as well as at the present. The river Peneus is no where better described than in the following lines of Ovid:

Est nemus Hæmoniæ prærupta quod undique claudit
Silva, vocant Tempe per quæ Peneus ab imo
Effusus Pindo spumosis volvitur undis
Dejectuque gravis tenues agitantia fumos
Nubila conducit, summasque aspergine sylvas
Impluit et sonitu plusquam vicina fatigat.
Metamorph. i. 568.

Very few readers will require to be told that Ovid made the banks of the Peneus the scene of his fable of Daphne and Apollo.—*T.*

* This question proves that Xerxes was by no means deficient in talents.

"the sea." "The Thessalians," Xerxes is said to have answered, "are a sagacious people. "They have been careful to decline a contest for "many reasons, and particularly as they must "have discerned that their country would afford "an easy conquest to an invader. All that would "be necessary to deluge the whole of Thessa- "ly, except the mountainous parts, would be to "stop up the mouth of the river, and thus throw "back its waters upon the country." This observation referred to the sons of Aleuas, who were Thessalians, and the first Greeks who submitted to the king. He presumed that their conduct declared the general sentiments of the nation in his favour. After surveying the place he returned to Therma.

CXXXI. He remained a few days in the neighbourhood of Pieria, during which interval a detachment of the third of his army was employed in clearing the Macedonian mountain, to facilitate the passage of the troops into the country of the Peræbi. At the same time the messengers who had been sent to require earth and water of the Greeks returned, some with and some without it.

CXXXII. Among those who sent it, were the Thessalians, the Dolopians, the Enians, the Peræbi, the Locri, the Magnetes, the Melians, the

Achæans of Pthiotis, the Thebans, and the rest of the people of Bœotia, except the Thespians and Platæans. Against all these nations those Greeks who determined to resist the Barbarians entered into a solemn vow[94] to the following effect—that whatever Greeks submitted to the Persian, without the plea of unavoidable necessity, should on any favourable change of their affairs, forfeit to the divinity of Delphi a tenth part of their property.

CXXXIII. Xerxes sent no messengers either to Athens or to Sparta, for when Darius had before sent to these places, the Athenians threw his people into their pit of punishment[95], the

---

[94] *Solemn vow.*]—The Greek is ετεμον ορκιον, literally, *they cut an oath*, because no alliance or agreement was ever made without sacrificing a victim. Similar to this, and to be explained in like manner, was the ferire fœdus of the Romans.

In like manner we say in English, *strike a bargain*.—*T.*

[95] *Pit of punishment.*]—Learned men have disputed whether the βαραθρον was the place of punishment at Athens or at Sparta. See the Essais de Critique of Bellanger, p. 63, and the note of Larcher on this passage. It was a deep pit, into which criminals were precipitated. Both cities seem to have been provided with a place similar to the dungeon of after-times, calculated both for imprisonment and precipitation. See, in the Stratagemata of Polyænus, an entertaining account of the ingenious and successful contrivance of one Aristomenes to escape from this horrid place. *Polyæn.* book ii. c. 2. Similar to this was the punishment of pre-

Lacedæmonians into wells, telling them to get the earth and water thence, and carry it to their king. The city and country of the Athenians was afterward laid waste; but that they suffered thus in consequence of their treatment of the ambassadors, is more than I will assert, indeed I can by no means ascribe it to that cause.

CXXXIV. But the vengeance of Talthybius[96], who had been the herald of Agamemnon, fell upon the Lacedæmonians. There is at Sparta a temple of Talthybius; his posterity are called

---

cipitation from the Tarpeian rock, inflicted on state criminals amongst the Romans. Perhaps it is not unreasonable to presume that a like kind of punishment prevailed amongst the Jews, who, we are told in the Gospels, hurried our Saviour to the brow of the hill on which the city was built, intending to throw him headlong down.—*T.*

96 *Vengeance of Talthybius.*]—The indignation of Talthybius fell upon the republic of Lacedæmon generally, but at Athens upon a particular house, namely, on the family of Miltiades, son of Cimon, because he had advised the Athenians to put to death the heralds who came to Attica.—*Pausanias*, book iii. chapter 12.

I can no where find on what account these honours were paid to Talthybius and his posterity, except that Talthybius was probably the first herald in the Grecian history, and might on that account be reverenced at Sparta. The persons of heralds the laws of all nations consented to hold sacred, but this veneration was paid not to the individual, but to the office. The name of Talthybius occurs very seldom in Homer, and is never introduced with any peculiar marks of honour or distinction.—*T.*

Talthybiadæ, and are employed, as a mark of honour, on all foreign embassies. A long time after the incident we have related, the entrails of the victims continued at Sparta to bear an unfavourable appearance, till the people, reduced to despondency, called a general assembly, in which they inquired by their heralds, if any Lacedæmonian would die for his country[97]. Upon this

---

97 *Die for his country.*]—A superstitious idea prevailed among the ancients, that the safety of a whole nation might be secured, or the life of an individual be preserved, by the voluntary devotion of one or more persons to death. Thus, among the Greeks, in the instance before us, and in the example of Leonidas, who devoted himself at Thermopylæ. The Romans were distinguished by the same absurd error: the chasm of the forum was supposed to close because a Roman knight voluntarily leaped into it; and a splendid victory over their adversaries was believed to be the consequence of the self-devotion of Decius. In succeeding times it became customary for individuals to devote and consecrate themselves, their fortunes, and their lives, to the service of the emperors. The folly began with Augustus, to whom one Pacuvius thus devoted himself. That better devotion, the result not of superstition but of genuine patriotism, is thus well described by Thomson:

> But ah, too little known to modern times,
> Be not the noblest passion past unsung,
> That ray peculiar, from unbounded love
> Effus'd, which kindles the heroic soul—
> Devotion to the public. Glorious flame,
> Celestial ardour, in what unknown worlds,
> Profusely scatter'd through the blue immense,
> Hast thou been blessing myriads, since in Rome,

Old

Sperthies[98], son of Aneristus, and Bulis son of Nicolaus, Spartans of great accomplishments and distinction, offered themselves to undergo whatever punishment Xerxes the son of Darius should think proper to inflict on account of the murder of his ambassadors. These men therefore the Spartans sent to the Medes, as to certain death.

CXXXV. The magnanimity of these two men, as well as the words which they used, deserve admiration. On their way to Susa they came to Hydarnes, a native of Persia, and governor of the vanquished places in Asia near the sea: he entertained them with much liberality and kindness, and addressed them as fol-

---

Old virtuous Rome, so many deathless names
From thee their lustre drew? Since, taught by thee,
Their poverty put splendour to the blush;
Pain grew luxurious, and death delight? *T.*

98 *Sperthies.*]—The name of this Spartan is very variously written: he is called Spertis, Sperchis, and Sperches, but it is of no great importance. Suidas, by an unpardonable negligence, changes these two Spartans into two Athenians. They sung, in honour of these two exalted characters, a melancholy dirge called Sperchis, though I doubt not that Bulis was also celebrated in it, as was Aristogiton in that of Harmodius.—See *Theocritus*, *Idyl.* xv. 96, 98.—*Larcher.*

The above mistake in Suidas, which Larcher has pointed out, Toup, in his Emendations of that author, has omitted to notice.—*T.*

lows: "Why, O Lacedæmonians, will you reject "the friendship of the king? From me, and "from my condition, you may learn how well "he knows to reward merit. He already thinks "highly of your virtue, and if you will but enter "into his service, he will doubtless assign to "each of you some government in Greece." "Hydarnes," they replied, "your advice with "respect to us is inconsistent: you speak from the "experience of your own but with an entire igno- "rance of our situation. To you servitude is "familiar; but how sweet a thing liberty is, you "have never known, if you had, you yourself "would have advised us to make all possible ex- "ertions to preserve it[99]."

CXXXVI. When introduced, on their arrival at Susa, to the royal presence, they were first ordered by the guards to fall prostrate, and adore the king[100], and some force was used to

---

99 *To preserve it.*]—The Greek is ουκ αν δορασι συμβουλευοις ημιν περι αυτης μαχεσθαι αλλα και πελεκεσι; which literally means, You would advise us to fight for it not only with spears, but with hatchets: which in a manner explains itself; for to fight with a spear implies fighting at a greater distance, and consequently with less danger, than was possible with an axe, the wounds of which must be more severe, and less easily avoided.—*T.*

100 *Adore the king.*]—This was the compliment always paid to the kings of Persia, when admitted to their pre-

compel them. But this they refused to do, even if they should dash their heads against the ground. They were not, they said, accustomed to adore a man, nor was it for this purpose that they came. After persevering in such conduct, they addressed Xerxes himself in these and similar expressions: "King of the Medes, we "are sent by our countrymen to make atonement "for those ambassadors who perished at Sparta." Xerxes with great magnanimity said he would not imitate the example of the Lacedæmonians. They in killing his ambassadors had violated the laws of nations; he would not be guilty of that with which he reproached them, nor, by destroying their messengers, indirectly justify their crime.

CXXXVII. In consequence of this conduct of the Spartans, the indignation of Talthybius subsided for the present, notwithstanding the re-

---

sence; but this the Greeks, with the exception of Themistocles and one or two more, uniformly refused to do. We learn from Valerius Maximus, that one Timagoras, an Athenian, having done this, was by his countrymen condemned to die: thinking the dignity of their city injured and degraded by this act of meanness.

Prideaux remarks, that this compliment of prostration before him, must have been paid the king of Persia by the prophets Ezra and Nehemiah, or they could not have had access to him.—*T.*

turn of Sperthies and Bulis to their country. But according to the Lacedæmonian account, this displeasure was, after a long interval, again conspicuous in the war betwixt the people of the Peloponnese and the Athenians. For my own part, I see no divine interposition [101] in this business: that the anger of Talthybius should without ceasing continue to operate till the devoted individuals were sent from their country, seems just and reasonable; but that it should ultimately fall on the children of these men, does not to me look like divine vengeance. Nicolaus, the son of Bulis, and Aneristus, the son of Sperthies, had taken a fishing-vessel belonging to the Tirinthians [102] full of men: being afterward

---

101 *Divine interposition.*]—To impute that to divine interposition, which human sagacity is unable to account for or explain, seems the necessary result of ignorance combined with superstition. That in a case so remarkable as this before us, Herodotus should disdain to do this, does the highest credit to his candour and his wisdom. The passage however has greatly perplexed the most learned commentators, some thinking that the negative particle ought to be rejected, others the contrary. I would refer the curious reader to Valcnaer's note on the passage, which to me seems very satisfactory, and which I have of course adopted.—*T.*

102 *To the Tirinthians.*]—Thucydides relates the particulars of this affair, book ii. chapter 67. From his account no divine interposition seems necessary to explain what happened to Nicolaus and Aneristus: they were two of

sent on some public business into Asia by the Lacedæmonians, they were betrayed by Sitalces, son of Tereus, king of Thrace, and by Nymphodorus, son of Pythus, a man of Abdera. They were accordingly captured near Bisanthis on the Hellespont, and being carried to Attica, were put to death by the Athenians, as was also Aristeus son of Adimanthus, a Corinthian. These events happened many years after the expedition of Xerxes [103].

CXXXVIII. This expedition, to return to my proper subject, was nominally said to be directed against Athens; but its real object was the entire conquest of Greece. The Greeks were long prepared for this invasion, but they did not all think of it alike. They who had made their submission to the Persian, did not conceive they had any thing to apprehend from

---

several who fell into the hands of the Athenians, who were then at variance with Sparta. In the beginning of the war the Lacedæmonians had put to death such as they captured by sea, and the Athenians thought themselves at liberty to retaliate. Thucydides says, that Aristeas, one of the captives, was in a particular manner odious to the Athenians, as they imputed to him many calamities they had recently experienced; but he says no such thing either of Nicolaus or Aneristus.—*T.*

[103] *After the expedition of Xerxes.*]—The events here alluded to happened in the third year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, as appears from Thucydides.

the Barbarian's presence, whilst they who had resisted his proposals were overwhelmed with terror and alarm. The united naval armament of Greece was far from able to contend with his power; and a great number of them discovered more inclination to go over to the Medes, than to concur in the general defence.

CXXXIX. I feel myself impelled in this place to deliver an opinion, which, though it may appear invidious to most men, as it seems to me the fact, I shall not suppress. If the Athenians, through terror of the impending danger, had forsaken their country, or if they had staid merely to have surrendered themselves to Xerxes, he would certainly have met with no resistance by sea; if he had remained, without contest, master of the sea, the following must have been the event of things on the continent:—Although they of the Peloponnese had fortified the isthmus by a number of walls, the Lacedæmonians must inevitably have been deserted by their allies, not so much from inclination, as from their being compelled to see their cities regularly taken and pillaged by the Barbarian fleet. Thus left alone, after many efforts of valour, they would have encountered an honourable death. Either this must have been their lot, or, seeing the other Greeks forming alliances with the Medes, they themselves would have done the same: thus

would Greece either way have been reduced under the Persian yoke. Of what advantage the walls along the isthmus could possibly have been, whilst the king remained master of the sea, I am unable to discover. Whoever therefore shall consider the Athenians as the deliverers of Greece, will not be far from the truth. The scale to which they inclined, would necessarily preponderate. In their anxiety for preserving the liberties of their country, they animated the ardour of all that part of Greece which was before inclined to resist the Medes. They, next to the gods, repelled the invader; nor did the Delphic oracles, alarming and terrific as they were, induce them to abandon Greece; but they waited to receive the invader.

CXL. The Athenians, desirous to know the will of the oracle, sent messengers to Delphi; who, after the customary ceremonies, entering the temple, were thus addressed in a prophetic spirit by the priestess, whose name was Aristonice:

" Unhappy men, to earth's last limits go;
" Forsake your homes, and city's lofty brow,
" For neither head nor bodies firm remain,
" Nor hands assist you, nor can feet sustain:
" All, all is lost, the fires spread wide around,
" Mars in his Syrian car and arms is found;

" Not ye alone his furious wrath may fear;
" Their towers from many shall his vengeance tear.
" And now from hallow'd shrines the flames ascend,
" Black blood and sweat their fearful torrents blend.
" Horror prevails! Ye victims of despair,
" Depart, and for unheard-of ills prepare!"

CXLI. This reply filled the Athenian messengers with the deepest affliction: whilst they were reflecting on its melancholy import, Timon, son of Androbulis, one of the most illustrious citizens of Delphi, recommended them to assume the dress of supplicants, and a second time to consult the oracle. They followed his advice, and expressed their sentiments to the oracle in these terms: " O king, return us an answer more auspicious " to our country; let our supplicatory dress and " attitude incline you to compassion; otherwise " we will not leave your sanctuary, but here re- " main till we die." The second answer[104] of the priestess was to this effect:

" Of Jove, who rules Olympian heights above,
" Not Pallas' self the solemn will can move.

---

[104] *The second answer.*]—This has generally been imputed to the interposition of Themistocles, who, as Plutarch informs us, despairing to influence his fellow citizens by any human arguments, brought to his aid divine revelations, prodigies, and oracles, which he employed like machines in a theatre.

" My awful words attend then once again,
" And firm they shall as adamant remain.
" When all is lost within Cecropian bounds,
" And where Cithæron's sacred bosom sounds,
" Jove to his lov'd Tritonian maid shall give
" A wall of wood, where you and yours shall live.
" Your numerous foes approach forbear to stay,
" But fly from horse, and foot, and arms away.
" Thou shalt, immortal Salamis, destroy
" The rising source of many a mother's joy:
" Thou shalt—tho' Ceres scatter o'er the plain,
" Or keep within dispos'd, her golden grain."

CXLII. The messengers, as reasonably they might, deeming this reply less severe than the former, wrote it down, and returning to Athens recited it to the people. Many different, and indeed entirely opposite opinions, were delivered concerning the meaning of the oracle: some of the oldest men thought it intended to declare, that the citadel, which formerly was surrounded by a pallisade, should not be taken, to which pallisade they referred the oracular expression of the wooden wall. Others thought, that the deity, by a wooden wall, meant ships, which therefore, omitting every thing else, it became them to provide. But they who inclined to this opinion were perplexed by the concluding words of the oracle:

" Thou shalt, immortal Salamis, destroy
" The rising source of many a mother's joy:

" Thou shalt—tho' Ceres scatter o'er the plain,
" Or keep within dispos'd, her golden grain;"

for the interpreters of the oracle presumed, that a defeat would be the consequence of a sea engagement near Salamis.

CXLIII. There was at Athens a man lately arrived at the first dignities of the state, whose name was Themistocles, the son of Neocles; he would not allow the interpreters of the oracles to be entirely right. " If," said he[105], " that pre-
" diction had referred to the Athenians, the deity
" would not have used terms so gentle. The
" expression would surely have been, ' O
" wretched Salamis,' and not ' O immortal Sa-
" lamis,' if the inhabitants had been doomed
" to perish in the vicinity of that island." Every

[105] *If, said he.*]—The last-mentioned oracle is thus given by Glover in his Athenaid, book i. 334.

" Ah, still my tongue like adamant is hard;
Minerva's tow'rs must perish: Jove severe
So wills, yet granting, at his daughter's suit,
Her people refuge under walls of wood;
But shun the myriads of terrific horse,
Which on your fields an eastern Mars shall bring."—
She ceas'd, th' Athenian notes her answer down;
To one the most entrusted of his train
He gives the tablet: " Back to Athens fly,"
He said, " the son of Neocles alone,
By his unbounded faculties, can pierce
The hidden sense of these mysterious strains."

more sagacious person, he thought, must allow that the oracle threatened not the Athenians, but the enemy; he recommended them, therefore, to prepare for an engagement by sea, the only proper interpretation of the walls of wood. This opinion of Themistocles appeared to the Athenians more judicious than that of the interpreters, who were averse to a naval engagement; and who advised their countrymen to attempt no resistance, but to abandon Attica, and seek another residence.

CXLIV. Themistocles had on a former occasion given proofs of his superior sagacity: a considerable sum of money had been collected in the public treasury, the produce of the mines of Laurium. A proposal had been made, and approved, that this should be equally divided among the citizens of mature age, at the rate of ten drachmæ a head; Themistocles dissuaded[106] the Athenians from this measure, and prevailed on them to furnish out with it a fleet of two hundred

---

[106] *Themistocles dissuaded.*]—Plutarch, in his life of Themistocles, relates the same fact. It was doubtless a bold though sagacious measure, and one of those which, as it happens to meet the temporary emotion of the people, occasions a man either to be torn in pieces as the betrayer, or venerated as the saviour of his country.—*T.*

It seems to me perfectly clear, that the answer of the oracle was dictated by Themistocles.

vessels, for the war with Ægina. It was this war, therefore, which operated to the safety of Greece, by obliging the Athenians to become sailors. This fleet was not applied to the purpose for which it was originally intended, but it opportunely served for the general benefit of Greece. The above ships being already prepared, the Athenians had only to increase their number: it was therefore determined, in a general council, held after the declaration of the oracle, that they could not better testify their obedience to the divinity, than by meeting at sea the Barbarian invader of their country, in conjunction with those Greeks who chose to join their arms.—Such were the oracles delivered to the Athenians.

CXLV. At this council, all the other Greeks assisted who were animated with an ingenuous ardour with respect to their country. After a conference, in which they pledged themselves to be faithful to the common interest, it was first of all determined, that their private resentments and hostilities should cease. At this period great disturbances existed, but more particularly betwixt the people of Athens and Ægina. As soon as they heard that Xerxes was at Sardis, at the head of his forces, the Athenians resolved to send some emissaries into Asia, to watch the motions of the king. It was also determined to

send some persons to Argos, to form with that nation, a confederacy against the Persian war: others were sent to Sicily, to Gelon, the son of Dinomenis; some to Corcyra and Crete, to solicit assistance for Greece. It was their view, if possible, to collect Greece into one united body, to counteract a calamity which menaced their common safety. The power of Gelon was then deemed of so much importance, as to be surpassed by no individual state of Greece.

CXLVI. When all these measures were agreed upon, and their private animosities had ceased, their first step was to send three spies[107] to Asia. These men, on their arrival at Sardis, were seized, in the act of examining the royal army, and, being tortured by the command of the generals of the land forces, were about to be put to death. When Xerxes heard of this, he expressed himself displeased with the proceedings

---

107 *Three spies.*]—The treatment of spies is one of those things about which nations the most polished and the most barbarous have always thought and acted alike. To hang a spy the moment he is discovered, without any forms of judicial process, is warranted by universal consent, and seems justifiable on the common maxims of policy.

The refinement of modern times annexes a considerable degree of infamy to the employment and character of a spy, but the enterprize of Diomed and Ulysses, as recorded by Homer, seems to prove that this was not always the case.—*T.*

of his officers, and sending some of his guards, he commanded them to bring the spies to his presence, if they were not already dead: the guards arrived in time to preserve them, and they were conducted to the royal presence. Xerxes, after inquiring their business, directed his guards to lead the men round his army[108], and shew them all his forces, both horse and foot; when they had fully satisfied their curiosity, he suffered them to depart without molestation, wherever they thought proper. Xerxes was prompted to this conduct, by the idea that if the spies were put to death, the Greeks would be able to form no conception of his power, exceeding even the voice of fame; he imagined also, that the loss of three individuals, could prove of no serious detriment to the enemy. But he concluded, that by the return of these men to Greece, the Greeks, hearing of the preparations made against them, would not wait his arrival to make their submissions; and that consequently he should be spared the trouble of marching against them.

CXLVII. Upon another occasion Xerxes ap-

---

[108] *Round his army.*]—A similar conduct was pursued by Caius Fabricius, with regard to the spies of Pyrrhus.

The character of Xerxes seems to me to have been very imperfectly understood.—In many instances he proved himself of superior worth as well as wisdom.—The subject well deserves a separate and elaborate Essay.

peared to reason in the same manner: when he was at Abydos he saw some vessels sailing over the Hellespont, which carried corn from the Pontus* to Ægina and the Peloponnese. When his attendants discovered them to be enemies, they prepared to pursue them, and looked earnestly on the king, as expecting his orders to do so. Xerxes inquired where these vessels were going; on being told, to the enemy, and that they were laden with corn, "Well," he replied, "and are not we going to the same place, carrying with us corn amongst other necessaries? "How, therefore, can these injure us, who are "carrying provisions for our use?" The spies, after surveying all that they desired, returned to Europe.

CXLVIII. After their return, those Greeks who had associated to resist the Persian, sent messengers a second time to Argos. The Argives give this account of their own conduct:—They were acquainted, they say, at a very early

* All the Greeks, and more particularly the Athenians, carried on a considerable commerce with the maritime coast of the Pontus Euxinus and the Crimea. They exported the wines of Cos, Thasus, &c. the earthenware and merchandize of Athens, which were then not less esteemed for their elegance and beauty, than those of London and Paris are at this period. In exchange for these commodities, they imported in return from these places, corn, wax, honey, wool, leather, skins, &c. and this commerce proved a source of great wealth to Athens.—*Larcher.*

period, with the Barbarian's views upon Greece; and being aware, and indeed assured, that they would be called upon by the Greeks for their assistance to oppose him, they sent to inquire of the oracle at Delphi, what line of conduct they might most advantageously pursue. They had recently lost six thousand of their countrymen, who were slain by the Lacedæmonians, under the conduct of Cleomenes, the son of Anaxandrides. The Pythian made them this reply:

" You, whom your neighbours hate, whilst gods above,
" Immortal gods, with truest kindness love,
" Keep close within, and well your head defend,
" Which to the limbs shall sure protection lend."

This was the answer given them by the Pythian, before the arrival of the Grecian envoy. When these had delivered their commission to the senate of Argos, the Argives expressed themselves disposed to enter into a pacific treaty with the Lacedæmonians, for a term of thirty years, upon condition of having the command of half[109] of

---

[109] *The command of half.*]—Diodorus Siculus says, that the Argives sent deputies to the general assembly, who, on asking for a share of the command, received an answer to this effect: That if they thought it harder to submit to the command of a Grecian, than to have a Barbarian master, they might as well stay, as they were, in quiet: if they were ambitious to have the command of Greece, they must deserve it by their noble actions.

the troops; they thought that in justice they might claim the whole, but agreed to be satisfied with half.

CXLIX. This, according to their own account, was the answer of the Argive senate, in contradiction to the advice of the oracle, not to join the Grecian confederacy. Their awe of the divinity did not prevent their urging with eagerness a treaty for thirty years, in which period their children, they presumed, would arrive at manhood; and they feared, if they refused to make a treaty, and their former misfortunes should be aggravated by any new calamity in the Persian war, they might be ultimately reduced under the Lacedæmonian yoke. To these proposals of the Argive senate, the Spartan envoys replied, that with respect to the treaty, they would relate their determination to their countrymen; but as to the military command, they were authorized to make this decisive answer: That as they had two kings, and the Argives but one[110], the Spartans could not deprive either of their two[111] sovereigns of his privileges; but there was

---

110 *The Argives but one.*]—Larcher remarks on this passage, that it is the only one he has been able to discover, which mentions there being a king of Argos.

111 *Either of their two.*]—In book v. chap. 75, we are told expressly that the Spartans passed a law, forbidding

no reason why the Argive prince should not be vested with a joint and equal authority. Thus the Argives relate that they found themselves unable to submit to the Lacedæmonian insolence, choosing rather to be subject to the Barbarians, than to the tyranny of Sparta[112]. They therefore informed the ambassadors, that if they did not quit their territories before sun-set, they should be regarded as enemies.

CL. The above is the Argive account; another report, however, is prevalent in Greece:—Xerxes, it is said, before he commenced hostilities with Greece, sent a herald to Argos, who was instructed thus to address the people: "Men of Argos, attend to the words of Xerxes: we are of opinion "that Perses, whom we acknowledge to be our "ancestor, was the son of Perses, whose mother "was Danaë, and of Andromeda, the daughter "of Cepheus; thus it appears that we derive "our origin from you[113]. It would, therefore,

---

both their kings to be at the same time present with the army; with which assertion the passage before us evidently militates.

[112] *Tyranny of Sparta.*]—The Lacedæmonians, says Valcnaer, and Cleomenes in particular, had on various occasions treated the Argives ill; these, therefore, with the Achæans, were the only people of the Peloponnese who refused to assist them in the Peloponnesian war.

[113] *Our origin from you.*]—If the fables of Greece may be

"be unnatural either for us to carry on war "with those from whom we are descended, or "for you to make us your adversaries, by giving "your assistance to others. Remain, therefore, "in tranquillity at home; if what I meditate "prove successful, no nation shall receive from "me greater honours than yours." This proposition appeared to the Argives of such serious importance, that they of themselves made no application to the Greeks; and when they were called upon for their assistance, they claimed an equal command, merely with the view of remain-

---

credited, the royal families of Perseus and Argos came from the same source. From Danaë, the daughter of Acrisius and Jupiter, came Perses, king of Argos; Perses had by Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus, Perses, who gave his name to the Persians, before called Cepheri.—*Larcher.*

It is truly said by Plato (in Alcibiad. vol. ii. p. 120.) that the Heraclidæ in Greece, and the Achæmenidæ among the Persians, were of the same stock. On this account Herodotus makes Xerxes claim kindred with the Argives of Greece, as being equally of the posterity of Perses, the same as Perseus, the sun, under which character the Persians described the patriarch from whom they were descended. Perseus was the same as Mithras, whose sacred cavern was styled Perseüm.

> Phœbe parens—seu te roseum Titana vocari
> Gentis Achæmeniæ ritu, seu præstat Osirin
> Frugiferum: seu Perseï sub rupibus antri
> Indignata sequi torquentem cornua Mithram.
>
> *Statius Theb.* i. 717.

The above is from Bryant, vol. ii. 67, 68.—See also, of the same work, vol. i. 466, and vol. iii. 388.

ing quiet, for they knew the Lacedæmonians would refuse it[114].

CLI. The above receives confirmation from a circumstance represented in Greece to have happened many years afterwards. The Athenians, upon some occasion or other, sent ambassadors to Susa, the city of Memnon[115], amongst whom was Callias*, the son of Hipponicus: at the same place, and time, some Argives were present, to inquire of Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, whether the friendship they had formed with his father Xerxes, continued still in force,

---

[114] *Would refuse it.*]—Plutarch, in his Essay on the malignity of Herodotus, which I have frequently had occasion to mention, says, that this passage is a remarkable instance of our author's malice. "Every body knows," says Plutarch, "that the Argives were not unwilling to enter into the Grecian confederacy, although they did not choose to submit to the tyranny of the Lacedæmonians."—*T.*

[115] *City of Memnon.*]—Built by Tithonus, the father of Memnon, and called both by Herodotus and Strabo the Memnonian city.

* The fact was this, according to Diodorus Siculus, Artaxerxes, in consequence of the great losses he had sustained in Cyprus, determined to make peace with the Greeks. Artabanes and Megabyzes were accordingly dispatched on this business as ambassadors to Athens.—The terms appearing reasonable to the Athenians, they on their side sent ambassadors to Artaxerxes with full powers.—Callias was at the head of the embassy, and this event happened in the fourth year of the 82d Olympiad, and 449 years before the Christian æra.

or whether he regarded them as enemies. Artaxerxes replied, that it certainly did continue, and that no city had a greater share of his regard than Argos.

CLII. In relating the above, I neither speak from my own knowledge, nor give any opinion, having no other authority but that of the Argives themselves, for saying that Xerxes sent a herald to Argos, or that the Argive ambassadors at Susa interrogated Artaxerxes concerning his friendship for their country. This, however, I know, that if all men were to produce in one place[116]

---

116 *Produce in one place.*]—This passage is obscure. The meaning of Herodotus seems to be, that if we take the representation of the Argives, their guilt was not considerable, according to the favourable eye with which all men view their own faults. "I know," says he, "that all men would rather keep their own faults, than take those of others."

A similar sentiment to this is well expressed by lord Chesterfield, in a paper of the World.

"If, sometimes, our common parent has been a little partial, and not kept the scales quite even, if one preponderates too much, we throw into the lighter a due counterpoise of vanity, which never fails to set all right. Hence it happens, that hardly any man would without reserve, and in every particular, change with any other."

Solon, according to Valerius Maximus, book vii. c. 2. asserted the same thing concerning human miseries. "Solon aiebat si in unum locum cuncti mala sua contulissent, futurum ut propria deportare domum quam ex communi miseriarum acervo portionem suam ferre mallent." This topic is treated

their faults, in order to exchange them for those of their neighbours, the result would be, that after due examination, each would willingly return with what he brought.—The conduct of the Argives, according to this representation, was not the basest possible. But it is incumbent upon me to record the different opinions of men, though I am not obliged indiscriminately to credit them; and let this my opinion be applied to the whole of my history. It is then also asserted, that the Argives first invited the Persian to invade Greece, imagining, after the losses they had sustained from the Lacedæmonians, that they could experience no change for the worse.

CLIII. With the view of forming a treaty

---

with great humour in the Spectator," N° 557 and 558. Should there be any doubt about the meaning of κακα, in this passage, it may be observed that Plutarch substitutes εγκλημαται.

Plutarch, after reprobating the manner in which Herodotus speaks of the Argives, adds this comment:

"What he therefore reports the Æthiopian to have exclaimed concerning the ointment and the purple, 'Deceitful are the beauties, deceitful the garments of the Persians,' may be applied to himself; for deceitful are the phrases, deceitful the figures, which Herodotus employs, being perplexed, fallacious, and unsound. For as painters set off and render more conspicuous the luminous parts of their pictures by the aid of shades, so he by his denials extends his calumnies, and by his ambiguous speeches makes his suspicions take the deeper impression."—*T.*

with Gelon, there arrived in Sicily different ambassadors from the several allies, and Syagrus on the part of the Lacedæmonians. An ancestor of this Gelon was a citizen of Gela[117], of the island of Telo, opposite Triopium; when the Lindians of Rhodes[118], and Antiphemus, built

---

[117] *Gela.*]—The curious reader will find every thing relating to Gela amply discussed by the learned D'Orville, in his Sicula, page 111 to page 131. It seems probable that it was built 713 years before Christ. According to Diodorus Siculus, Phintias, tyrant of Agrigentum, destroyed Gela about the 124th Olympiad, and 572 years after its first foundation: the inhabitants he removed to the town of Phintias, which he built. A medal has been found in Sicily, on one side of which is a minotaur, the well known type of the people of Gela; on the reverse a wild boar, which is always found on the medals of Phintias. See Larcher's Table Geographique, vol. vii. p. 157.—*T.*

[118] *Rhodes.*]—The Rhodians succeeded the Cretans in the dominion of the sea; they styled themselves sons of the sea. So Simias, their own historian, says of them, as cited by Clemens Alexand. and explained by Bochart, *υἱοι θαλασσης.* —See Diodorus Sic. l. v. Florus calls them Nauticus populus. See Meursius, where we find that Rhodes was styled Mari enata, because it emerged by the decrease of the sea. They applied themselves with great success to maritime affairs, and became famous for building ships; they took so much care to keep the art to themselves, that it was criminal not only to enter, but even look at their docks.—See in Eustathius in Dion. the expression *τα λινδα πλοια.* The high esteem and credit which Rhodes obtained, is apparent from the succours which the neighbouring states sent her, when almost destroyed by an earthquake. See Polybius. In Polybius the reader may find an account of the wisdom of

Gela, he accompanied them. His posterity, in process of time, became the ministers of the infernal deities[119], which honour, Telines, one of their ancestors, thus obtained: Some men of Gela, who in a public tumult had been worsted, took refuge at Mactorium, a city beyond Gela.

---

her politics: one part I cannot omit, namely, the just value they set on their poor, and their importance to the state, and the care they took of them. They established many rules for their maintenance, and made ample provision for them all, wisely concluding, that the better they were used, the more obedient and peaceable they would be, and always ready to attend the summons of the public, in recruiting and manning their fleets. With the terror of these they long maintained the sovereignty of the seas, extending their dominion even to Pharos, near Egypt, till Cleopatra, by subtlety, shook off their yoke. The inhabitants of Pharos complaining of the heavy tribute they annually paid, as many other islands did, to the Rhodians, she ordered a mole to be thrown up to join Pharos to the continent, which was surprisingly executed within seven days, and thence called Eptastadium. Soon after this the Rhodian officers being arrived at Pharos for the payment of the tribute, the queen, riding on horseback over the new causeway to Pharos, told the Rhodians they did not know their own business: that the tribute was not to be paid by the people of the continent, and Pharos was no longer an island. Let me add, that the inhabitants of Rhodes long maintained their credit in maritime affairs, gave their assistance to the unfortunate, curbed and restrained the oppressor, and, by the institution of the knights of Jerusalem, in 1308, enlisted themselves in defence of Christianity against the encroachments of the infidels, and gallantly defended their island against the Ottoman forces for the space of 200 years.—*T.*

119 *Infernal deities.*]—Ceres and Proserpine.

Telines brought these back to their allegiance, without any other aid than the things sacred to the above deities, but where or in what manner he obtained them, I am unable to explain. It was by their aid, that he effected the return of the citizens of Gela, having previously stipulated that his descendants should be the ministers of the above-mentioned deities. That Telines should undertake and accomplish so difficult an enterprize, seems to me particularly surprising; it was certainly beyond the abilities of any ordinary individual, and could only have been executed by a man of very superior qualities. He is, nevertheless, reported by the people of Sicily to have been a person of different character; that is to say, of a delicate and effeminate nature.—Thus, however, he attained his dignities.

CLIV. Cleander, the son of Pantareus, after possessing for seven years the sovereignty of Gela, was assassinated by Sabyllus, a citizen of the place, and succeeded in his authority by his brother Hippocrates. During his reign, Gelon [120],

---

[120] *Gelon.*]—He was not, as Dionysius Halicarnassus asserts, the brother of Hippocrates. From belonging to the body guard of Hippocrates, he elevated himself to the government of Gela, and from thence to that of Syracuse: this last he rendered a flourishing town, and so attached it to him by his liberality, that when they broke in pieces the

one of the posterity of Telines, of whom indeed there were many others, and particularly Ænesidemus, son of Pataïcus, of the body guard of Hippocrates, was soon, on account of his military virtue, promoted to the rank of general of the cavalry. He had eminently distinguished himself in the several different wars, which Hippocrates had prosecuted against the Callipolitæ, the Naxians, the people of Zancle and Leontium, not to mention those of Syracuse, and many barbarous nations. Of all these cities, which I have enumerated, that of Syracuse alone escaped the yoke of Hippocrates. The Syracusans, indeed, had sustained a signal defeat near the river Elorus, but the Corinthians and Corcyræans had supported and delivered them, on the express condition that they should give up to Hippocrates the city of Camarina, which they possessed from the remotest antiquity.

CLV. Hippocrates, after reigning the same period as his brother Cleander, lost his life before the town of Hybla[121], in a war against the Sici-

---

statues of the tyrants, to coin them into money, when Timoleon restored its liberty to Syracuse, those of Gelon alone were exempted.—*Larcher.*

[121] *Hybla.*]—There were in Sicily three cities of this name, the greater, the middle, and the little Hybla: The first of these is now called Paterno, and is at the foot of Ætna; the

lians. Gelon, after having conquered his fellow-citizens in a fixed battle, under pretence of defending the rights of Euclid and Cleander, sons of Hippocrates, whose accession to their father's dignity was resisted, obtained the supreme authority of Gela, to the exclusion of the lawful heirs. He afterwards got possession of Syracuse, taking the opportunity of restoring to their country, from Csamene, those of the Syracusans called Gamori [122], who had been expelled by the common people, in conjunction with their own slaves the Cillyrians [123]. The Syracusans, on his approach, made their submissions, and delivered up their city.

CLVI. When Gelon became master of Syracuse he made light of Gela, his former posses-

---

second is the modern Ragusa; the third is Megara.—It was before the second Hybla that Hippocrates died. Hybla was also the name of a mountain in Sicily, which abounded in thyme, and was celebrated for its bees; it has been sufficiently notorious in poetic description.

I am conscious that, with respect to geographical descriptions, I have on all occasions been concise, and some of my readers may, perhaps, think to a fault. In answer to this I can only observe, that the geography of Herodotus might be reasonably expected to employ a separate volume.—*T.*

[122] *Gamori.*]—The Gamori or Geomori, were properly those who, being sent away as a colony, divided the lands among them.

[123] *Cillyrians.*]—This name is written differently. Larcher calls them Cillicyrians.

sion, and consigned it to the care of his brother Hiero. Syracuse, which now was every thing to him, became soon a great and powerful city. Gelon removed all its inhabitants from Camarine, whom he made citizens of Syracuse, after overturning their city. He did the same with respect to more than half of the people of Gela. He besieged also the people of Sicilian Megara; on their surrender, the most wealthy among them, who, on account of their activity against him, expected no mercy, were removed to Syracuse, and permitted to enjoy the privileges of citizens. The common people of Megara, who, not having been instruments of the war, thought they had nothing to apprehend, after being conducted to Syracuse, were sold as slaves, to be carried out of Sicily. The people of Eubœa in Sicily were in like manner separated, and experienced the same treatment. His motive, in both these instances, was his fear and dislike of the common people: thus he rendered himself a most powerful prince.

CLVII. When the Grecian ambassadors arrived at Syracuse, and obtained an audience of the king, they addressed him to this effect: "The "Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and their common "allies, have deputed us to solicit your assist- "ance against the Barbarian. You must have "heard of his intended invasion of our country,

" that he has thrown bridges over the Helles-
" pont, and, bringing with him all the powers
" of Asia, is about to burst upon Greece. He
" pretends, that his hostilities are directed against
" Athens alone; but his real object is the entire
" subjection of Greece. We call on you, there-
" fore, whose power is so great, and whose Sici-
" lian dominions constitute so material a portion
" of Greece, to assist us in the vindication of
" our common liberty. Greece united will form
" a power formidable enough to resist our inva-
" ders; but if some of our countrymen betray us,
" and others withhold their assistance, the de-
" fenders of Greece will be reduced to an insig-
" nificant number, and our universal ruin may be
" expected to ensue. Do not imagine that the
" Persian, after vanquishing us, will not come to
" you: it becomes you, therefore, to take every
" necessary precaution; by assisting us, you
" render your own situation secure.—An enter-
" prize concerted with wisdom seldom fails of
" success."

CLVIII. The reply of Gelon was thus vehement: " Your address to me, O men of Greece," said he, " is insolent in the extreme. How can " you presume to solicit my aid against the " Barbarian? when I formerly asked you for " assistance against the Carthaginians, and to " revenge on the people of Ægesta, the death

" of Dorieus, the son of Anaxandrides, offer-
" ing in return to make those commercial places
" free, from whence great advantages would
" have been derived to you, on both occasions
" you refused to succour me. That all this re-
" gion, therefore, is not in subjection to the
" Barbarians, has not depended upon you; the
" event, however, has been fortunate to me.
" But on the approach of war, and your own
" immediate danger, you have recourse to Gelon.
" I shall not imitate your contemptuous conduct;
" I am ready to send to your aid two hundred
" triremes, twenty thousand heavy-armed troops,
" two thousand horse, and as many archers,
" two thousand slingers, and an equal number
" of light-armed cavalry. It shall be my care
" also to provide corn [124] for all the forces of
" Greece, during the continuance of the war.

---

[124] *Provide corn.*]—The fertility of Sicily, with respect to corn, has from the most remote times been memorable. In the most flourishing times of Rome it was called the granary of the republic. See Cicero in Verrem, ii.—" Ille M. Cato sapiens cellam penariam reipublicæ, nutricem plebis Romanæ Siciliam nominavit." Modern travellers agree in representing Sicily as eminently abundant in its crops of corn.

There is a fragment of Antiphenes preserved in Athenæus, which may thus be translated:

" A Cook from Elis, a caldron from Argos, wine of Phlius, tapestry of Corinth, fish from Sicyon, pipers (αυλητρίδες) from Ægium, *cheese from Sicily*, the perfumes of Athens, and eels of Bœotia."

"But I make these offers on the condition of "being appointed to the supreme command, "otherwise I will neither come myself, nor fur- "nish supplies."

CLIX. Syagrus, unable to contain himself, exclaimed aloud: "How would Agamemnon, the "descendant of Pelops, lament, if he could "know that the Spartans suffered themselves to "be commanded by Gelon, and the people of "Syracuse! Upon this subject I will hear you "no farther: if you have any intention of assist- "ing Greece, you must submit to be subordinate "to the Lacedæmonians; if you refuse this, we "decline your aid."

CLX. When Gelon perceived the particular aversion of Syagrus to his proposals, he delivered himself a second time as follows: "Stranger of "Sparta, when injuries are offered to an exalted "character, they seldom fail of exciting his re- "sentment: yet your conduct, insulting as it is, "shall not induce me to transgress against de- "cency. If you are tenacious of the supreme "authority, I may be reasonably more so, who "am master of more forces, and a greater "number of ships: but as you find a difficulty

---

So that cheese also was amongst the numerous delicacies which Sicily supplied.—*T.*

" in acceding to my terms, I will remit somewhat " of my claims. If you command the land " forces, I will have the conduct of the fleet; " or, if you will direct the latter, I will command " the former. You must be satisfied with one of " these conditions, or be content to depart with- " out my powerful assistance [125]."—Such were the propositions of Gelon.

CLXI. The Athenian envoy, anticipating the Lacedæmonian, answered him thus: " King of " Syracuse, Greece has sent us to you, not want- " ing a leader; but a supply of forces. Such is " your ambition, that unless you are suffered to " command, you will not assist us. When you " first intimated your wish to have the supreme " command of our united forces, we Athenians " listened in silence, well knowing that our La- " cedæmonian ally would return you an answer

---

125 *My powerful assistance.*]—Ælian, in his Various History, book ix. chap. 5, relates this anecdote of Hiero and Themistocles:

When Hiero appeared at the Olympic games, and would have engaged with his horses in the race, Themistocles prevented him, saying, that he who would not engage in the common danger ought not to have a share in the common festival.

The chronology of this fact is adduced by Bentley, as a convincing argument against the genuineness of the epistles imputed to Themistocles. See Bentley on Phalaris, p. 395.—*T.*

" applicable to us both. As soon as you gave up " this claim, and were satisfied with requiring " the command of the fleet alone, I then thought " it became me to answer you. Know then, that " if the Spartan ambassador would grant you this, " we would not: if the Lacedæmonians refuse the " conduct of the fleet, it devolves of course to " us; we would not dispute it with them, but we " would yield it to nobody else. It would little " avail us to possess the greater part of the mari- " time forces of Greece, if we could suffer the " Syracusans to command them. The Athenians " are the most ancient people of Greece[126], and

---

[126] *The most ancient people of Greece.*]—The Athenians in support of their antiquity, assumed many romantic appellations, calling themselves the sons of the earth, χθονιοι, αυτοχθονες, γηγενεις, πηλογονοι, children of clay. See Hesychius at the word γηγενεις. Opposing also these appellations to the fiction of the Ægyptians, concerning the generation of man from the slime and mud of the river Nile, they afterwards, as an emblem of their own fortuitous generation, wore the *cicadæ*, or harvest flies, commonly translated grasshoppers, in their hair. Their comic poet, who on no occasion spared his countrymen, makes of this their emblem a happy but sarcastic use, telling them that the cicada, which they pretended to be a symbol of themselves, did really exhibit their faithful picture, they were ανθρωποι ωσπερ παρνοπες, with this only difference, that whereas the cicada only sung upon the boughs for a month or two, they sung away their whole lives in hearing causes; that in short they were σπερμολογοι (See Athenæus, p. 540.) sauntering through the streets to pick up the loose grain which fell from the industrious farmer, to find out a place, απραγμονα, where

"we alone have never changed our country: "from us was descended that hero, who, ac- "cording to Homer, of all those who marched "against Troy*, was the most expert in the "arrangement and discipline of an army: we "relate these things with a becoming sense of "our own importance."

---

they had nothing to do. This claim, however, of the Athenians to antiquity was opposed by the Arcadians, who boasted that they existed before the moon, and to keep up this pretence they wore *lunulas* or moons in their shoes, as the Athenians wore the cicada in their hair: they therefore called themselves προσελήνοι: and Strabo, in his eighth book, owns their plea, asserting that the Arcadians were the oldest of all the Grecians.—I cannot help thinking that the Arcadians, were called Silen, before they disputed with the Athenians on the subject of antiquity. A principal part of their possessions in Asia were called Salonum, and the cheese there made caseus Salonites, words not unlike to Silenus and Selenitæ. The name also is preserved in Silenus, the usual companion of Pan, the Arcadian deity. Silenus, as the Greek language prevailed, might afterwards be changed into *Selenus* or *Selenita*, from the word *Selene*, then better understood; or on purpose to maintain the contest of antiquity, and to account for calling themselves *Proseleni*.—*T.*

* *Troy.*]—There are frequent allusions in Herodotus to the Trojan war. See for example Clio, c. v. this passage, and Calliope, c. xxvii.—Xerxes sacrificed to the Trojan Minerva, and paid respect to the memory of the heroes who died at Troy—of course he believed the Trojan war to have existed. The truth I conceive to be this—that the Trojan war did actually take place, but that the poem of Homer contains a number of fables introduced by the poet as embellishments.—*T.*

CLXII. "Man of Athens," answered Gelon, "it does not appear that you want commanders, "but troops. Since, therefore, you would ob- "tain every thing and concede nothing, hasten "your departure, and inform Greece that their "year will be without its spring." The meaning of his expression was, that as the spring was the most desirable season of the year, so were his forces with respect to those of Greece; Greece, therefore, destitute of his alliance, would be as a year without its spring.

CLXIII. The Grecian ambassadors, after receiving this answer from Gelon, sailed back again. Gelon afterwards, apprehending that the Greeks must fall before the Barbarian power, and still disdaining, as monarch of Sicily, to be subordinate to the Spartans in the Peloponnese, adopted the following measure:—As soon as he heard that the Persian had passed the Hellespont, he sent three fifty-oared vessels to Delphi, under the conduct of Cadmus, the son of Scythes, of the isle of Cos; he had with him a large sum of money, and a commission of a pacific tendency [127]. They were to observe the issue of the contest: if the Barbarian proved victorious,

---

[127] *Pacific tendency.*]—φιλιους λογους, literally, "friendly words."

they were to give him earth and water, in token of the submission of those places of which Gelon was prince; if victory fell to the Greeks, they were to return home.

CLXIV. This Cadmus had received from his father, the sovereignty of Cos; and though his situation was free from every species of disquietude, he resigned his authority from the mere love of justice, and retired to Sicily. Here, in conjunction with the Samians, he inhabited Zancle, the name of which place was afterwards changed to Messana[128]. Gelon selected this man, being convinced from his previous conduct, of his inviolable attachment to justice. Among the other instances of rectitude which he exhibited, the following is not the least worthy of admiration: If he had thought proper he might have converted to his own use the wealth with which Gelon intrusted him; but after the victory of the Greeks, and the consequent retreat of Xerxes, he carried all these riches back again to Sicily.

---

[128] *Messana.*]—It is by no means certain when this happened: the authorities of Herodotus and Thucydides are contradicted by that of Pausanias. The reader who may wish minutely to investigate this fact, I refer to Larcher's long note to Bentley on Phalaris, page 104, who avails himself of it to detect the forgery of the epistles ascribed to Phalaris; and lastly to D'Orville's Sicula.—*T.*

CLXV. The Sicilians affirm, that Gelon would still have assisted the Greeks, and submitted to serve under the Lacedæmonians, if Terillus, the son of Crinippus, who had been expelled from Himera, where he had exercised the sovereignty, by Theron, son of Ænesidemus, had not at this time brought an army against him. This army was composed of Phœnicians, Africans, Iberians, Ligurians, Helisycians, Sardinians, and Cyrnians, under the command of Amilcar, son of Anno, king of Carthage[129], to the amount of three hundred thousand men. Terillus had conciliated this person, partly from the rites of private hospitality, but principally by the interposition of Anaxilaus, son of Cretineus, king of Rhegium, who had given his children as hostages to Amilcar, to induce him to come to Sicily[130], and revenge the cause of his father-in-law. Anaxilaus had married the daughter of Terillus, whose name was Cydippe: Gelon, from these circumstances being unable to assist the Greeks, sent, as we have described, a sum of money to Delphi.

---

[129] *King of Carthage.*]—Larcher remarks, from Polyænus and Cornelius Nepos, that the title of king was frequently given to the Carthaginian generals.

[130] *Come to Sicily.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates, that Xerxes had made a treaty with the Carthaginians, and that it was in consequence of this that the war here mentioned took place in Sicily.

CLXVI. It is related on the same authority, that Gelon and Theron conquered the Carthaginian Amilcar, in Sicily, on the same day[131], which was remarkable for the victory of the Greeks at Salamis. The father of Amilcar, as they assert, was a Carthaginian, his mother was a native of Syracuse; he had been elevated to the throne of Carthage for his personal virtues. After being vanquished, as we have described, he disappeared, and was never seen afterwards, dead or alive, though Gelon[132] with the most diligent care endeavoured to discover him.

CLXVII. The Carthaginians assert, and with

---

131 *On the same day.*]—Diodorus Siculus says the same thing: of course these two authors are agreed about the year of the battle of Thermopylæ, and differ only in a few months. Herodotus makes it to have happened in the beginning of the first year of the 75th Olympiad; Diodorus Siculus some months afterwards.

The victory of Gelon did him great honour; but what in my opinion did him more, was, that when he granted peace to the Carthaginians, he stipulated that they should never again sacrifice children to Saturn. Nevertheless, Diodorus Siculus, who mentions this treaty, says nothing of this condition; and it appears from this author, that the barbarous custom above-mentioned still prevailed in the time of Agathocles, that is to say, in the 117th Olympiad.—*Larcher.*

132 *Though Gelon.*]—If Polyænus may be believed, Gelon very well knew the fate of Amilcar; see lib. i. c. 27. Not daring to face him openly in the field, he destroyed him by a paltry stratagem, when in the act of offering sacrifice.

some probability, that during the contest of the Greeks and Barbarians in Sicily, which, as is reported, continued from morning till the approach of night, Amilcar remained in his camp; here he offered sacrifice to the gods, consuming upon one large pile the entire bodies of numerous victims[133]. As soon as he perceived the retreat of his party, whilst he was in the act of pouring a libation, he threw himself into the flames, and for ever disappeared. Whether, according to the Phœnicians, he vanished in this, or, as the Carthaginians allege, in some other manner, this last people, in all their colonies, and particularly in Carthage, erected monuments in his honour, and sacrificed to him as a divinity.—Enough perhaps has been said on the affairs of Sicily.

CLXVIII. The conduct of the Corcyreans did not correspond with their professions. The same emissaries who visited Sicily, went also to Corcyra, the people of which place they addressed in the terms they had used to Gelon. To these they received a promise of immediate and powerful assistance: they added, that they

133 *Numerous victims.*]—We find Crœsus, in a preceding book, offering up three thousand chosen victims; see book i. chap. 50.

could by no means be indifferent spectators of the ruin of Greece, and they felt themselves impelled to give their aid, from the conviction, that the next step to the conquest of Greece would be their servitude; they would therefore assist to the utmost.—Such was the flattering answer they returned. But when they ought to have fulfilled their engagements, having very different views, they fitted out a fleet of sixty vessels; these were put to sea, though not without difficulty, and sailing towards the Peloponnese, they stationed themselves near Pylos and Tænaros, off the coast of Sparta*. Here they waited the issue of the contest, never imagining that the Greeks would prove victorious, but taking it for granted that the vast power of the Persian would reduce the whole of Greece. They acted in this manner to justify themselves, in addressing the Persian monarch to this effect: "The Greeks, O king, have solicited our assistance, who, after the Athenians, are second "to none in the number as well as strength of "our ships: but we did not wish to oppose your "designs, or to do any thing hostile to your

* The treachery of the people of Corcyra had well nigh cost them dear; after the war the Greeks would have exterminated them, but Themistocles represented to them, that if they were to destroy all the cities which had not been in alliance with them, Greece would sustain greater injury than if the Persians had conquered their country.—*Larcher.*

"wishes." By this language they hoped to obtain more favourable conditions; in which they do not to me appear to have been at all unreasonable: they had previously concerted their excuse to the Greeks. When the Greeks reproached them for withholding the promised succour, they replied that they had absolutely fitted out a fleet of sixty triremes; but that the north-east winds would not suffer them to pass the promontory of Malea: and that it was this accident alone, not any want of zeal, which prevented their arrival at Salamis till after the battle. It was thus they attempted to delude the Greeks.

CLXIX. The Cretans being in like manner solicited by the Grecian envoys to assist the common cause, determined to consult the oracle at Delphi about the expediency of such a measure: "Inconsiderate as you are," replied the priestess, "has not Minos given you sufficient "cause to regret the part you took with respect "to Menelaus? The Greeks refused to re-"venge the murder of Minos [134], at Camicus,

---

134 *Minos.*]—The Cretans had sent some forces to the Trojan war, under the conduct of Idomeneus and Merion. Idomeneus was a descendant of Minos, and at his death the government of the family of Minos ceased. Minos expelled from Crete the Rhadamanes; see the Dionysiaca of Nonnus.

" though you assisted them to punish the rape of " a Spartan woman by a Barbarian." This

---

cited by Meursius, p. 120. Those who settled with Minos at Crete, are the first whom the Grecian history records for their power and dominion at sea; he extended his jurisdiction to the coasts of Caria on the one hand, and to the cities of Greece on the other; using his power with moderation and justice, and employing it against those lawless rovers and pirates who infested the neighbouring islands, and in the protection and support of the injured and distressed. If he be represented in worse colours by some authors, the painting is the hand of one who copied from those, whose rapine and oppression had provoked and felt his resentment. Minos was no less renowned for his arms abroad, than for his polity and good government at home; he is said to have framed a body of laws, under the direction of Jupiter, for his subjects of Crete, and, though this may have the air of a romance, invented, as such reports were, to give the better sanction to his laws, yet it is confessed, says Strabo, that Crete in ancient times was so well governed, that the best states of Greece, especially the Spartan, did not disdain to transcribe many of its laws, and to form the plan of their government according to this model. Lycurgus retired into Crete, and transcribed its laws.—*Meursius*, p. 162; they related principally to military points. A. Gellius records one instance of this agreement of the military sort, in giving the onset to battle, l. i. c. 11.; there are many others in Meursius. Besides Plato and Ephorus, mentioned by Strabo, we may add Xenophon and Polybius, bearing their witness to what I have above said of the ancient Cretans' character. As it was gained by, so it fell with, the descendants of Minos; for when the Carians had expelled the former, and were become masters of the island, as Diodorus Siculus supposes that they did soon after the Trojan war (book v. at the end) Crete became a den of tyrants, and a nest of pirates,

answer induced the Cretans to refuse their assistance.

CLXX. It is said that Minos coming to Sicania, now called Sicily, in search of Dædalus[135],

---

as infamous for their thefts and injustice, as the Eteocretans had been famous for their opposite virtues.—*T.*

[135] *Dædalus.*]—Diodorus Siculus gives the following account of Dædalus, book iv. c. 76.

Dædalus was an Athenian, of the family of Erectheus; he was eminently skilful as an architect, as a statuary and engraver. He had arrived at so great excellence, that his posterity boasted of his figures, that they appeared to see and to move like human beings. He was the first who formed eyes to his figures, and represented the limbs and arms correctly and distinctly. Before his time artists made the eyes of their figures closed, the hands suspended close to the sides. His nephew Talos was his pupil, whose ingenuity so excited his envy and jealousy that he killed him: for this he was condemned to death by the Areopagus, but flying to Crete, his talents procured him great reputation, and the friendship of Minos. This he forfeited from using his art to gratify the preposterous passion of Pasiphae, the wife of Minos; whence the story of the birth of the Minotaur. He consequently fled from hence with his son Icarus, who gave his name to the sea where he perished. Dædalus went to Sicily, where he was received and entertained by Cocalus; Minos pursued him with a numerous fleet, he landed in the territory of Agrigentum, and sent to Cocalus to demand Dædalus. Cocalus invited him to a conference, promised to give Dædalus up, and offered him the rites of hospitality; after which he suffocated Minos in a hot bath.

It has been disputed, whether with the assistance of Dædalus, Minos was not the inventor of the labyrinth. The

104833

perished by a violent death [136]. Not long afterwards, actuated as it were by some divine impulse, all the Cretans in a body, except the Polichnites and the Præsians, passed over with a great fleet to Sicania, and for five years laid close siege to Camicus, which was inhabited even to my time by the Agrigentines. Unable either to take the place or continue the siege, they were compelled by famine to retire; a furious tempest attacked them off the coast of Iapygia, and drove

---

credit of the invention is by Pliny assigned to the Ægyptian; Ovid very prettily compares the winding of the Cretan labyrinth to the course of the Meander, l. viii. 160.

> Non secus ac liquidus Phrygiis Mæandros in arvis
> Ludit, et ambiguo lapsu refluitque fluitque,
> Occurrensque sibi venturas aspicit undas;
> Et nunc ad fontes, nunc in mare versus apertum
> Incertas exercet aquas. Ita Dædalus implet
> Innumeras errore vias, &c. *T.*

136 *Violent death.*]—Zenobius affirms, that whilst he was at the bath, the daughter of Cocalus killed him, by pouring boiling pitch upon him. Diodorus Siculus says, that Cocalus having permitted him to do what he wished, and offering him the rites of hospitality, suffocated him in a bath, of which the water was too hot. Pausanias says nothing of the kind of death which Minos died; he satisfies himself with saying, that the daughters of Cocalus were so pleased with Dædalus on account of his ingenuity, that to oblige him, they resolved to destroy Minos. The violent death of this prince induced Sophocles to write a tragedy, called Minos, as appears from Clemens Alexandrinus or Camicoi, as we find in Athenæus.—*Larcher.*

them ashore. As their vessels were destroyed, and they were unable to return to Crete, they remained there, and built the town of Hyria. Instead of Cretans they took the name of Messapian Iapyges[137], and from being islanders they became inhabitants of the continent. From Hyria they sent out several colonies; with these, the Tarentines being afterwards engaged in the most destructive hostilities, received the severest defeat we ever remember to have heard related. The Tarentines were not on this occasion the only sufferers; the people of Rhegium, who had been instigated by Mycithus, son of Chœrus, to assist the Tarentines, sustained a loss of three thousand men; the particular loss of the Tarentines has not been recorded. Mycithus had been one of the domestics of Anaxilaus, and had

---

[137] *Iapyges.*]—So called from Iapyx, the name of the son of Dædalus. Iapyx was also the name of the Western wind. See Horace:

> Obstrictis aliis præter Iapyga
> Ventis.

Again,

> Ego quid sit ater
> Adriæ novi sinus, et quid albus
> Peccet Iapyx.

The particulars of the battle, mentioned in the subsequent part of the chapter, may be found at length in Diodorus Siculus, book ii. chap. 52.

been left to take care of Rhegium; being driven thence he resided afterwards at Tegea in Arcadia, and consecrated a great number of statues [138] in Olympia.

CLXXI. My remarks concerning the people of Rhegium and Tarentum, have interrupted the thread of my narration. Crete being thus left without inhabitants, the Præsians say, that various emigrants resorted there, of whom the greater number were Greeks. In the third age after the death of Minos, happened the Trojan war, in which the Cretans were no contemptible allies to Menelaus. On their return from Troy, and as some have asserted as a punishment for the part they had taken, a severe pestilence and famine destroyed them and their cattle; they who survived, were joined by others who migrated to them, and thus was Crete a third time peopled. By recalling these incidents to their remembrance, the Pythian checked their inclination to assist the Greeks.

---

[138] *Great number of statues.*]—These are specified in Pausanias; they consisted of the statues of Amphitrite, Neptune, and Vesta, by the hand of Glaucus, an Argive: there were also Proserpine, Venus, Ganymede, Diana, Homer, and Hesiod; next these were Æsculapius and Hygeia, with Agon. These with many others were given by Mycithus, in consequence of a vow made on account of his son, who was afflicted with a dangerous disease.—*T.*

CLXXII. The Thessalians were from the beginning compelled to take the part of the Medes, taking care to shew their dislike of the conduct of the Aleuadæ. As soon as they heard that the Persian had passed over into Europe, they sent deputies to the isthmus, where were assembled the public counsellors of Greece, deputed from those states which were most zealous to defend their country. On their arrival, the Thessalian deputies thus spake: "Men of Greece, it "will be necessary to defend the Olympic straits, "for the common security of Thessaly, and of "all Greece. We on our parts are ready to "assist in this, but you must also send a con-"siderable body of forces, which if you omit "to do, we shall undoubtedly make our terms "with the Persian. It cannot be just that we, "who from our situation are more immediately "exposed to danger, should perish alone on "your account. If you refuse to assist us, you "cannot expect us to exert ourselves for you. "Our inability to resist will justify our conduct, "and we shall endeavour to provide for our own "security."

CLXXIII. The Greeks in consequence determined to send a body of infantry by sea to defend these straits. As soon as their forces were ready they passed the Euripus. Arriving

at Alus, in Achaia *, they disembarked, and proceeded towards Thessaly. They advanced to Tempe, to the passage which connects the lower parts of Macedonia with Thessaly, near the river Peneus, betwixt Olympus and Ossa; here they encamped, to the number of ten thousand heavy-armed troops, and they were joined by the Thessalian horse. The Lacedæmonians were led by Euænetus, son of Carenus, one of the Polemarchs [139], though not of the blood-royal. Themistocles, son of Neocles, commanded the Athenians. Here they remained but a few days; for Alexander, son of Amyntas, the Macedonian, sent to them, recommending their retreat, from their total inability to make any stand against the land and sea forces of the enemy, whose numbers he explained. The Greeks, thinking the

---

* *In Achaia.*]—Achaia means here Phthiotis, in Thessaly. —See *Strabo*, b. ix.

139 *One of the Polemarchs.*]—The Polemarch seems to have had separate and distinct duties in peace and in war; in peace, as I have elsewhere observed, it was his business to superintend the strangers resident in Sparta, as well as to see to the maintenance of the children of those who died in the public service.

In war he seems to have been a kind of aid-de-camp to the king, and to have communicated his orders to the troops. We may presume, from what Herodotus says in the conclusion of the paragraph, that the Polemarchs were generally of the blood-royal.—*T.*

advice reasonable, and the Macedonian amicable towards them, regulated their conduct by it. I am rather inclined to impute the part they acted to their fears, being informed that there was another passage into Thessaly, through the country of the Perrhæbi, in the higher region of Macedonia, near the city Gonnos, and through this the army of Xerxes did actually pass. The Greeks retired to their ships, and returned to the isthmus.

CLXXIV. This expedition to Thessaly was undertaken when Xerxes was preparing to pass into Europe, and was already at Abydos. The Thessalians, forsaken by their allies, lost no time in treating with the Medes; they entered warmly into the king's affairs, and proved themselves remarkably useful.

CLXXV. The Greeks, after their return to the isthmus, in consequence of the advice of Alexander, called a council to deliberate how and where they should commence hostilities. It was ultimately determined to defend the straits of Thermopylæ, as being not only narrower than those of Thessaly, but also within a less distance. Of that other approach by which the Greeks at Thermopylæ were surprized, they had not the smallest knowledge, till, having arrived there, they were shewn it by the Trachinians. To pre-

vent the advance of the Barbarians to Greece, they undertook to guard this passage: they resolved to send their fleet to Artemisium on the coast of Histiæotis. These places are so contiguous, that a communication betwixt the two armaments was extremely easy.

CLXXVI. The above places may be thus described:—Artemisium *, beginning from the Thracian sea, gradually contracts itself into a narrow strait betwixt the island of Sciathus and the continent of Magnesia. Artemisium meets the coast at the straits of Eubœa, and here is a temple of Diana. The entrance into Greece by the way of Trachis is in its narrowest part half a plethrum; compared with the rest of the country, the part most contracted lies before and behind Thermopylæ [140]: behind, near the Alpeni, there is room

---

* *Artemisium.*]—According to this description, Artemisium is the name of the whole sea, from Sepias to the Cenæan promontory.

[140] *Thermopylæ.*]—An excellent plan of the straits of Thermopylæ, as they at present appear, may be seen in the charts of the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis. The description which Livy gives of them has been greatly admired.—See liber xxxvi. c. 15.

"Extremos ad orientem montes Œtam vocant; quorum quod altissimum est, Callidromon appellatur, in cujus valle ad Maliacum sinum vergente iter est non latius quam LX passus. Hæc una militaris via est, qua traduci exercitus, si

only for a single carriage; before, near the river Phœnix, by the town of Anthela, the dimensions of the passage are the same. To the west of Thermopylæ, is a steep and inaccessible mountain, which extends as far as Œta; to the east, it is bounded by the shoals and by the sea. In these straits, there are warm baths which the natives call Chytri, near which is an altar sacred to Hercules. The place was formerly defended by a wall and by gates: the wall was built by the Phoceans, through fear of the Thessalians, who came from Thesprotia to establish themselves in Æolia, where they now reside. The Thessalians endeavouring to expel them, the Phoceans erected the wall to protect them; and, to make the place marshy and impassable, they suffered the above-mentioned warm springs to empty themselves, using every expedient to prevent the incursions of the Thessalians. The wall had in a great measure mouldered away from length of

---

non prohibeantur possint. Ideo Pylæ, et ab aliis, quia calidæ aquæ in ipsis faucibus sunt, Thermopylæ locus appellatur, nobilis Lacedæmoniorum adversus Persas morte magis memorabili quam pugnâ."

The gates of public buildings were called by the Greeks θυραι, the gates of cities πυλαι.—See Suidas at the word πυλαι. See also Perizonius's note to Ælian, book iii. c. 25.

"The narrow entrance of Greece," says Mr. Gibbon, describing the march of Alaric into Greece, "was probably enlarged by each successive ravisher."—*T.*

time: it was repaired, because it was here determined to repel the Barbarian from Greece! In the vicinity is a place called Alpeni, which the Greeks made a repository for their provisions.

CLXXVII. The Greeks from every consideration deemed this place the most eligible. After much cautious inspection and deliberation, they concluded that the Barbarians could not here avail themselves either of their numbers or their cavalry; here therefore they determined to receive the disturber of their country. As soon as they were informed of his arrival in Pieria, they left the isthmus; the land forces proceeding to Thermopylæ, the fleet to Artemisium.

CLXXVIII. Whilst the Greeks, according to the resolutions of their council, resorted to their several stations, the Delphians, anxious for themselves and for Greece, consulted the oracle. They were directed, in reply, to address themselves to the winds, for they would prove the best allies of Greece. The Delphians lost no time in communicating this answer to those Greeks who were zealous for their liberty, and who greatly dreading the Barbarian, thought it deserved their everlasting gratitude. An altar was immediately erected, and sacrifice offered to the winds in Thyia, where there is a temple in honour

of Thyia, daughter of Cephissus [141], from whom the place has its name. In consequence of the above oracle, the Delphians to this day supplicate the winds.

CLXXIX. The fleet of Terxes moving from Therma, dispatched ten of their swiftest sailing vessels to Sciathus, where were three guardships of the Greeks, of Trœzene, Ægina, and Athens. These, on sight of the Barbarian vessels, immediately fled.

CLXXX. The Barbarians, after e pursuit, took the Trœzenian vessel commanded by Praxinus. The most valiant of the crew they sacrificed on the prow of the ship, thinking it a favourable omen that their first Greek capture was of no mean distinction. The name of the

---

141 *Thyia, daughter of Cephissus.*]—Larcher quotes from Pausanias the following passage:

"Others say that Castalius, a native of the country, had a daughter named Thyia; she was priestess of Bacchus, and was the first who celebrated orgies in honour of that god. From this time, all those were called Thyiades, who became frantic in honour of this god. They say also that Delphus was the son of that Thyia by Apollo; others again say that the mother of Delphus was Melæna, the daughter of Cephissus."

Strabo and Plutarch discerned a great affinity and likeness between the frantic rites of Cybele, the orgia of Bacchus, and the mysteries of Pan.—*T.*

man they slew was Leon, and to his name perhaps he owed his fate.

CLXXXI. The vessel of Ægina occasioned the enemy more trouble; it was commanded by Asonides, and among its warriors was Pythes[142], son of Ischenous, who on that day greatly distinguished himself. When his ship was taken, he persevered in his resistance, till he was cut in pieces: at length he fell, but, as he discovered some signs of life, the Persians, in admiration of his valour, made every possible effort to preserve him, bathing his wounds with myrrh, and applying to them bandages of cotton[143]. On their

---

142 *Pythes.*]—Bellanger in a long note endeavours to prove that it should be Pytheas, and not Pythes. To all his arguments I am satisfied to oppose the learned authority of Longinus, who writes the nominative case Pythes.—*Larcher.*

143 *Bandages of cotton.*]—I have proved in another place, that Byssus was cotton. A very learned man has objected to me, that as the tree which produces cotton was not cultivated in Ægypt, in the time of Prosper Alpinus, except in gardens, it must necessarily, in the time of Herodotus, have been still more uncommon; which induces him to believe, with father Hardouin, that it is a species of fine linen. This does not to me seem conclusive. It may be reasonably supposed that the floods may in a great degree have destroyed that plant, and particularly since Ægypt is become barbarous (devenue barbare.) This may be one cause of its scarcity in the time of Prosper Alpinus, and does not prove to me that it was scarce in the time of Herodotus, or even before his time. According to my interpretation, the Per-

return to their camp, they exhibited him to the whole army as a man deserving universal esteem; whilst they treated the rest of the crew as vile slaves.

---

sians bound the wounds of Pythes with cotton; we in similar cases use lint: but the Ægyptians at this day use lint of cotton for wounds and sores.—*Larcher.*

I do not know whether what I have to offer, in contradiction to M. Larcher's opinion on this subject, may be thought satisfactory, but I think that it merits the attention of the English reader. I have before observed, that the finest linen of Ægypt was of a very coarse nature, of whatever it was composed; and I find in Ezekiel, xxvii. 7. the following verse:

ΒΥΣΣΟΣ *μετα ποικιλιας* ΕΞ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ *εγενετο τοι στρωμνη, του περιθειναι σοι δοξαν, και περιβαλειν σε ὑακινθον και πορφυραν εκ των νησων* Ελεισαι, *και εγενετο περιβολαια σου.* Which is thus rendered by our translators:

Fine linen with broidered work from Ægypt, was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail; blue and purple from the isles of Elisha was that which covered thee.

That Βυσσος is properly expressed by the word linen, I believe; but why it should be rendered fine linen, I am at a loss to imagine. We are expressly told that it was used for sail-cloth, and was probably of a substance equally coarse with that mentioned by Virgil:

Usum in castrorum aut miseris velamina nautis. *T.*

Cotton seems to derive its name from the fruit in Crete, called by Pliny mala cotonea, or cydonia, lib. xv. c. 11; it is distinguished by other names, bombax, bambox, gossipium xylon, the cloth made of it bissos. Ferunt cotonei mali amplitudine cucurbitas, quæ maturitate ruptæ ostendunt lanuginis pilas, ex quibus vestes pretioso linteo faciunt.—Pliny, lib. xii. c. 10.—*Vincent's Voyage of Nearchus*, p. 13.

CLXXXII. Two of the vessels being thus taken, the third, commanded by Phormus, an Athenian, in its endeavour to escape, went ashore at the mouth of the Peneus. The Barbarians took the ship, but not its crew. The Athenians got on shore, and proceeding through Thessaly, arrived safe at Athens. The Greeks stationed at Artemisium were made acquainted with the above event by signals of fire from Sciathus. They instantly retired in alarm to Chalcis, with the view of guarding the Euripus. They did not however omit to place daily sentinels on the heights of Eubœa.

CLXXXIII. Three of the ten Barbarian vessels sailed to the rock called Myrmex, between Sciathus and Magnesia. Here they erected a column, with stones which they brought with them for that purpose. They spent eleven days * on this cruize, after the king's departure from Therma, being conducted safe with respect to this rock by Pammos the Scyrian. Sailing from the above place, they in one day passed along the coast of Magnesia to Sepias, on the shore

* I have always, observes Major Rennell, considered this passage as either corrupted or mutilated; perhaps the grand fleet was eleven days on its passage from Therma to the coast of Magnesia, and from thence one day to Sepias.

which lies betwixt the town of Casthanæ and the coast of Sepias.

CLXXXIV. Th[illegible]opylæ, the army of Xerxes met with no misfortune. The number of the vessels which left Asia amounted, if my calculations have not deceived me, to twelve hundred and seven. The complement of the crews by which they were originally [144] manned, was two hundred forty-one thousand four hundred, composed of the different auxiliaries, and allowing two hundred men to each vessel: to these, independent of their own proper crews*, are to be added thirty of either Persians, Medes, or Sacæ. The whole number of these last was thirty-six thousand two hundred and ten: to the above are also to be added those who were on board the vessels of fifty oars, to which we may allow at the rate of eighty men to each. The whole number therefore of these will be found to have been three

[144] *Originally.*]—That is, I suppose, without the troops which the king added to his armament in progress from Asia to Europe.

* This last description of men, may, perhaps, be considered in the nature of marines; and it is worthy of remark, that the proportion of them to the rest of the crew, does not differ much from the proportion of marines to our crews in these times.—*Rennell*, p. 254.

thousand, and of the men two hundred and forty thousand. Thus the fleet which left Asia was composed of five hundred seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. The infantry consisted of seventeen hundred thousand men; the number of the cavalry was eighty thousand. The Arabians with their camels, and the Africans in their chariots, were twenty thousand more. The above was the armament which left Asia; to make no mention of the menial attendants, the transports which carried the provisions, and their crews.

CLXXXV. To these are still to be added all those troops which were brought from Europe; of the precise number of which we can only speak from opinion. The Greeks of Thrace, and of the islands contiguous, furnished one hundred and twenty vessels, the crews of which amounted to twenty-four thousand men: a body of land forces was also provided by the Thracians, Pæonians, the Eordi, Bottiæans[145], Chal-

---

[145] *Bottiæans.*—The Bottiæans were of Athenian origin, and, according to Aristotle, from those children whom the Athenians sent to Minos in Crete by way of tribute. These children grew old in that island, gaining their livelihood by the labour of their hands. The Cretans, in compliance with some vow, sent to Delphi the first-fruits of their citizens, to whom they added these descendants of the Athenians. As

cidians, Brygians, Pierians, Macedonians, Perrhæbians, Enienes, Dolopes, Magnesians, Achæans, and the other people who inhabit the maritime parts of Thrace. The amount of all these was I believe three hundred thousand men. These collectively, added to the Asiatic forces, make two millions six hundred forty-one thousand six hundred and ten fighting men.

CLXXXVI. Great as the number of these forces was, the number of the menial attendants, of the crews on board the transports carrying the provisions, and of the other vessels following the fleet, was I believe still greater. I will however suppose them equal. Thus it will appear that Xerxes son of Darius conducted to Sepias and to Thermopylæ an army consisting of five millions two hundred and eighty-three thousand two hundred and twenty men.

CLXXXVII. The above was the aggregate of the troops of Xerxes: as to the women who prepared the bread, the concubines and eunuchs, no one has ever attempted to ascertain their number. The baggage-waggons also, the beasts of

---

they could not subsist there, they went to Italy, and established themselves in Iapygia; from hence they went to Thrace, where they took the name of Bottiæans.—*Larcher.*

burden, and the Indian dogs, which accompanied the army, defy all computation. We can hardly be surprised that the waters of some rivers were exhausted; but we may reasonably wonder how provision could be supplied to so vast a multitude. According to a calculation made by myself, if each of the above number had only a chœnix of corn a day, there would every day be consumed[146] ten thousand three hundred and forty medimni[147]. Neither does this computation comprehend the quantity allowed to the women, eunuchs, cattle, and dogs. Among all these myriads of men, with

---

[146] *Every day be consumed.*]—Maitland, who I believe is generally allowed to be a faithful and accurate historian, furnishes us with a table of the quantity of cattle consumed annually in London, above thirty years ago, when that city was far less populous than it is at present:

Beeves - - - - -	98,244
Calves - - - - -	194,760
Hogs - - - - -	186,932
Pigs - - - - -	52,000
Sheep and Lambs - - -	711,123

The most inquisitive calculators seem now to agree in allowing, upon an average, to the metropolis near a million of inhabitants.—*T.*

[147] *Medimni.*]—There were forty-eight chenices in one medimnus; according therefore to the calculation of Herodotus, there ought to have been 5,296,320 men. There is of course a mistake either in the number of medimni or of the troops.

respect to grace and dignity of person [148], no one better deserved the supreme command than Xerxes himself.

CLXXXVIII. The vessels of the fleet, after their arrival on the coast of Magnesia, betwixt the town of Casthanæa and the shores of Sepias, there stationed themselves, the foremost drawing close to land, the others lying on their anchors behind. As the shore was of no great extent, the fleet was ranged in eight regular divisions, with their heads towards the main sea, in which situation they passed the night. On the approach of day, the sky and the sea, which had before been serene, were violently disturbed: a furious storm arose, attended with a violent squall of wind from the east [149], which the inhabitants

---

148 *Grace and dignity of person.*—

Through all the nations which ador'd his pride
Or fear'd his power, the monarch now was pass'd;
Nor yet among these millions could be found
One who in beauteous feature might compare,
Or towering size, with Xerxes. O possess'd
Of all but virtue, doom'd to shew how mean,
How weak, without her is unbounded power,
The charm of beauty, and the blaze of state;
How insecure of happiness, how vain! *Glover.*

149 *From the east.*]—Apeliotes, called also Solanus and Subsolanus. The ancients originally used only the four cardinal winds; they afterwards added four more. The

of these parts call an Hellespontian wind. They who foresaw that the tempest would still in-

---

Romans increased them to twenty-four, and the moderns have added to the four cardinal, twenty-eight collateral winds. The annexed table may probably be useful to many of my readers.

Names of the winds, and points of the compass.

English.	*Latin and Greek.*
1 NORTH	1 SEPTENTRIO or BOREAS.
2 North by East	2 Hyperboreas, Hypaquilo, Gallicus.
3 North, North East	3 Aquilo.
4 North East by North	4 Mesoboreas, Mesaquilo, Supernas.
5 NORTH EAST	5 ARCTAPELIOTES, BORAPELIOTES, GRÆCUS.
6 North East by East	6 Hypocæsias.
7 East North East	7 Cæsias, Hellespontius.
8 East by North	8 Mesocæsias.
9 EAST	9 SOLANUS, SUBSOLANUS APELIOTES.
10 East by South	10 Hypeurus, or Hypereurus.
11 East South East	11 Eurus or Volturnus.
12 South East by East	12 Meseurus.
13 SOUTH EAST	13 NOTAPELIOTES, EURASTER
14 South East by South	14 Hypophœnix.
15 South, South East	15 Phœnix, Phœnicias, Leuconotus, Gangeticus.
16 South by East	16 Mesophœnix.
17 SOUTH	17 AUSTER, NOTUS, MERIDIES.
18 South by West	18 Hypolibonotus, Alsanus.
19 South, South West	19 Libonotus, Notolybicus, Austro-Africus.

crease, and whose situation was favourable, prevented the effects of the storm, by drawing their vessels ashore, and with them preserved their own persons: of those whom the hurricane surprized farther out at sea, some were driven to the straits of Pelion, termed the Ipnoi, others went on shore; some were dashed against the promontory of Sepias, others carried to Melibœa and Casthanæa, so severe was the tempest.

CLXXXIX. It is asserted, that the Athenians being advised by some oracle to solicit the assistance of their son-in-law, invoked in a solemn

English.	*Latin and Greek.*
20 South West by South -	20 Mesolibonotus.
21 South West - - -	21 Notozephyrus, Notolibycus, Africus.
22 South West by West -	22 Hypolibs, Hypafricus, Subvesperus.
23 West South West - -	23 Libs.
24 West by South - -	24 Mesolibs, Mesozephyrus.
25 West - - - - -	25 Zephyrus, Favonius, Occidens.
26 West by North - - -	26 Hypargestes, Hypocorus.
27 West North West - -	27 Argestes, Caurus, Corus, Iapyx.
28 North West by West -	28 Mesargestes, Mesocorus.
29 North West - - -	29 Zephyro-Boreas, Borolibycus, Olympias.
30 North West by North -	30 Hypocircius, Hypothrascias, Scirem.
31 North, North West -	31 Circius Thrascias.
42 North by West - - -	31 Mesocircius.

manner the aid of Boreas[150]. Boreas, according to the tradition of the Greeks, married Orithya, an Athenian female, daughter of Erectheus: from this, if fame may be believed, the Athenians were induced to consider Boreas as their son-in-law; and, during their station off the Eubœan Chalcis to watch the motions of the enemy, they sacrificed to Boreas and Orithya, invoking their interposition to destroy the Barbarian fleet, as they had before done near mount Athos. I will not presume to say, that in consequence of their supplications, Boreas dispersed the Barbarian fleet; but the Athenians do not scruple to affirm, that Boreas, who had before been favourable to them, repeated his efforts to assist them on this occasion. They afterwards erected a shrine to Boreas on the banks of the Ilissus.

CXC. In this storm, according to the lowest calculation, four hundred vessels were totally lost, with an infinite number of men, and a prodigious treasure. Aminocles son of Cratinus, a Magne-

---

[150] *Boreas.*]—Astræus had by Aurora four sons, Argestes, Zephyrus, Boreas, and Notus. Some have taken Boreas for a wind, others for a prince of Thrace. This Boreas went to Thrace in Attica, from whence he carried Orithya, daughter of Erectheus. By this marriage he became son-in-law to Erectheus, and the Athenians consequently considered him as their ally, calling him their son-in-law also.—*Larcher.*

sian, who had an estate near Sepias, reaped afterwards very considerable advantage from this tempest; many vessels of gold and silver were thrown by the tides upon his lands; he became master also of various Persian treasures, and an immense quantity of gold. Although this incident rendered him affluent, he was in other respects unfortunate, having by some calamity been deprived of his children [151].

CXCI. The loss of the provision-transports, and of the other smaller vessels, was too great to be ascertained. The naval commanders, apprehending that the Thessalians would take this opportunity to attack them, intrenched themselves within a rampart made of the wrecks of the vessels. For three days the storm was unabated; on the fourth, the magi appeased its vio-

---

151 *Of his children.*]—This passage has occasioned great perplexity; but Palmerius in his Exercitationes has removed every difficulty, and satisfactorily done away the effects of Plutarch's perverse misconception. Plutarch abuses Herodotus for introducing this circumstance of the affluence of Aminocles, and the means by which he obtained it, merely for an opportunity of saying that he had killed his son.

Plutarch of course refers the word παιδοκτονος to Aminocles; but, as Palmerius observes, by referring the word παιδοκτονος, not to the man, but to his συμφορη (calamity) every difficulty is removed, and no imputation of malignity can be attached to our historian.—*T.*

lence by human victims, and incantations to the wind, as well as by sacrificing to Thetis and the Nereids, unless perhaps the tempest ceased of itself. They sacrificed to Thetis, having learned from the Ionians that it was from this coast she had been carried away by Peleus, and that all the district of Sepias[152] was sacred to her in common with the other Nereids. It is certain, that on the fourth day the tempest[153] ceased.

CXCII. Their sentinels, who were every day stationed on the heights of Eubœa, did not fail to acquaint the Greeks with all the circumstances of the storm, on the morning which followed. As soon as they received this intelligence, after paying their vows, and offering libations to Neptune Servator, they hastily returned to Artemisium, hoping to find but few of the enemy's vessels. Thus a second time they fixed their station at Artemisium, near the temple of Nep-

152 *Sepias.*]—This coast was sacred to Thetis, because that goddess, desirous of eluding the pursuit of Peleus, changed herself in this place into a kind of sea-fish, which the Greeks call Σηπια (Sepia.) This story gave the name of Sepias to this coast and promontory.—*Larcher.*

153 *The tempest.*]—Twenty-four miles to the south-east of Larissa is Volo, said to be Pagasæ, where the poets say the ship Argo was built. Near it is Aphetæ, from which place they say the Argonauts sailed. The south-east corner of this land is the old promontory Sepias, where five hundred sail of Xerxes' fleet were shipwrecked in a storm.—*Pococke.*

tune surnamed Servator, which appellation, given on the above occasion, is still retained.

CXCIII. The Barbarians, as soon as they perceived the wind subside and the sea calm, again ventured from the shore. Coasting along, they doubled the Magnesian promontory, and made their way directly to the gulph leading to Pagasæ. It was in this gulph of Magnesia that Hercules, going on shore from the Argo [154] to procure water, was deserted by Jason and his companions, who were bound to Æa of Colchis to obtain the golden fleece. Having taken in water, they sailed from hence; in commemoration of which incident, the place afterward took the name of Aphetæ.

CXCIV. Here also it was that the fleet of Xerxes came to an anchor. Fifteen of these, being at a considerable distance from their companions, discovered the vessels of the Greeks at Artemisium, and mistaking them for friends, sailed into the midst of them. The leader of these ships was Sardoces, son of Thamasias, the governor of Cyma, in Æolia. This man Darius had formerly condemned to the punishment of the cross; he had been one of the royal judges,

[154] *Argo.*]—See book iv. c. 179. Note *Bryant*, ii. 490, 491.

and convicted of corruption in his office. He was already on the cross, when the king, reflecting that his services to the royal family exceeded his offences, and that he himself had in the present instance acted with more impetuosity than prudence, commanded him to be taken down. Thus he escaped the punishment to which Darius had condemned him; his escape now from the Greeks was altogether impossible; they saw him sailing towards them, and perceiving his error attacked and took him and his vessels.

CXCV. In one of these vessels was Aridolis, prince of the Alabandians of Caria; in another, Penthylus, son of Demonous, a Paphian general. This latter left Paphos with twelve vessels, eleven of which were lost in the storm off Sepias; he himself, with the twelfth, fell into the enemy's hands, at Artemisium. The Greeks, having obtained such information as they wished concerning the forces of Xerxes, sent their prisoners in chains to the isthmus of Corinth.

CXCVI. Except the above fifteen vessels, commanded by Sardoces, the whole of the Barbarian fleet arrived at Aphetæ. Xerxes with his land forces, marching through Thessaly and Achaia, came on the third day to the territories of the Melians. Whilst he was in Thessaly he made a trial of his cavalry against those of the

Thessalians, which he had heard were the best in Greece; but in this contest the inferiority of the Greeks[155] was evidently conspicuous. The Onochonus was the only river in Thessaly which did

---

[155] *The inferiority of the Greeks.*]—The best cavalry in the world attended Xerxes on this expedition, namely those of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia. Hecatonymus tells Xenophon, in the fifth book of the Anabasis, that the cavalry of the Cappadocians and Paphlagonians was better and more expert in martial exercises than any other which the king of Persia had. That part of Cappadocia which Herodotus calls Cilicia paid as a tribute to the kings of Persia a horse for every day in the year. Strabo says, that Cappadocia sent 1500 horses annually. The boast of Hecatonymus to Xenophon was by no means vain; the same preference was given them by others, and excellent commanders. Plutarch informs us, that on these Crassus the Roman general chiefly relied; and with these surprising feats of gallantry were performed in the Parthian war. Lucullus also had these in his army at the siege of Tigranocerta; and in the battle with Tigranes made choice of them and the Thracian horse to attack the Cataphracts, the choicest of the enemy's cavalry, and to drive them from the ground. Tigranes is said to have opposed Lucullus with an army of 55,000 horse; and many other instances may be adduced to shew that the chief strength of these northern powers consisted in their cavalry.

The curious reader may compare Plutarch's account of the army of Tigranes with that which Ezekiel gives of the army of Magog.

Claudian, in Laud. Serenæ, tells us it was customary to have a breed from a Phrygian mare by a Cappadocian horse:

Delectus equorum
Quos Phrygiæ matres Agræaque gramina pastæ,
Semine Cappadocum sacris præsepibus edunt. T.

not afford sufficient water for the army. Of those of Achaia, the Apidanus, the greatest of them all, hardly sufficed.

CXCVII. Whilst Xerxes was proceeding to Alos, an Achaian city, his guides, anxious to tell him every thing, related what was reported by the natives concerning the temple of Jupiter Laphystius[156]. It was said that Athamas, the son of Æolus, in concert with Ino, contrived the death of Phrixus. The Achaians, following the command of the oracle, forbade the eldest of the descendants of Ahamas ever to enter their prytaneum, called by them Leitus. They were very vigilant in seeing this restriction observed, and whoever was detected within the proscribed limits could only leave them to be sacrificed. There were several who in terror escaped into another

---

[156] *Jupiter Laphystius.*]—It was to this deity that Phrixus sacrificed the ram upon which he was saved; and even to this day, says the Scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius, one of the descendants of Phrixus enters the prytaneum according to the established law, and offers sacrifices to this god. At twenty stadia from Ceroneus was mount Laphystius, where was a mound consecrated to Jupiter Laphystius: there is still seen in this place a marble statue of this god. Phrixus and Helle being on the point of being sacrificed in this place by Athamas, they say that Jupiter sent them a ram whose fleece was gold, upon which they saved themselves.

Jupiter surnamed Laphystius was, according to Kuhnius, the protector of fugitives.—*Larcher.*

country, when they were on the point of being sacrificed. If they ever afterward returned, they were, if discovered, instantly sent to the prytaneum. To the above, the guides of Xerxes added the description of the sacrifice, the ceremony of binding the victim with ribands, with all other circumstances. The posterity of Cytissorus, the son of Phrixus, are subject to the above, because Cytissorus himself, in his way from Æa of Colchis, delivered Athamas from the hands of the Achæans, who by the direction of the oracle were about to offer him as an expiatory sacrifice. On this account, the anger of the divinity fell upon the posterity of Cytissorus. In consequence of hearing the above narrative, Xerxes, when he approached the precincts of the grove, cautiously avoided it himself, and commanded all his army [157] to do the same. He

---

157 *All his army.*]—See on this subject Bryant, vol. ii. 40, 41, &c.—This writer supposes, and his opinion is confirmed by Suidas, that the prutaneion is derived from πυρ, fire: the words of Suidas are these: πρυτανειον, πυρος ταμειον ενθα ην ασβεστον πυρ. The Scholiast upon Thucydides talks to the same purpose: αλλοι δε φασιν ὁτι το πρυτανειον πυρος ην ταμειον ενθα ην ασβεστον πυρ. Others tell us that the prutaneion was of old called *puros tameion*, from *pur*, because it was the repository of a perpetual fire. These places were temples, and at the same time courts of justice; hence we find that in the prutaneion of Athens the laws of Solon were engraved. These laws were inscribed upon wooden cylinders, some of which remained to the time of Plutarch, &c.—*Bryant.*

shewed the same veneration for the residence of the posterity of Athamas.

CXCVIII. Such were the incidents which occurred in Thessaly and Achaia. From hence Xerxes advanced to Melis, near a bay of the sea, where the ebbing and flowing of the tide may be seen every day. Near this bay is an extensive plain, wide in one part, and contracted in another: round this plain are certain lofty and inaccessible mountains, called the Trachinian rocks, and inclosing the whole region of Melis. Leaving Achaia, the first city near this bay is Anticyra. This is washed by the river Sperchius, which, rising in the country of the Enieni, here empties itself into the sea. At the distance of twenty furlongs is another river, called Dyras, which is said to have risen spontaneously from the earth, to succour Hercules when he was burning. A third river, called Melas, flows at the distance of twenty furlongs more.

CXCIX. Within five furlongs of this last river stands the town of Trachis. In this part the country is the widest, extending from the mountains to the sea, and comprehending a space of twenty-two thousand plethra. In the mountainous tract which incloses Trachinia, there is an opening to the west of Trachis, through which the Asopus winds round the base of the mountain.

CC. To the west of this, another small stream is found, named the Phœnix; it rises in these mountains, and empties itself into the Asopus. The most contracted part of the country is that which lies nearest the Phœnix, where the road will only admit one carriage to pass. From the Phœnix to Thermopylæ are fifteen furlongs; in the intermediate space is a village named Anthela, beyond which the Asopus meets the sea. The country contiguous to Anthela is spacious: here may be seen a temple of Ceres Amphictyonis, the seats of the Amphictyons[158], and a shrine of Amphictyon himself.

CCI. Xerxes encamped in Trachinia at Melis; the Greeks in the Straits. These straits the Greeks in general call Thermopylæ; the people of the country Pylæ only. Here then were the two armies stationed, Xerxes occupying all the northern region as far as Trachinia, the Greeks that of the south.

CCII. The Grecian army[159], which here

---

[158] *Amphictyons.*]—See book v. c. 62, note. What I have there omitted concerning the Amphictyons, their office, and character, may be found amply discussed in Gillies's History of Greece, and faithfully represented in Rees's edition of Chambers's Dictionary, as well as by Larcher.—*T.*

[159] *The Grecian army.*]—Beneath is the number of Greeks who appeared on this occasion, according to the different representations of Herodotus, Pausanias, and Diodorus Siculus:

waited the approach of the Persian, was composed of three hundred Spartans in complete armour; five hundred Tegeatæ, and as many Mantineans; one hundred and twenty men from Orchomenus of Arcadia, a thousand men from the rest of Arcadia, four hundred Corinthians, two hundred from Philius, and eighty from Mycenæ. The above came from the Peloponnese; from Bœotia there were seven hundred Thespians and four hundred Thebans.

CCIII. In addition to the above, the aid of

	Herodotus.	Pausanias.		Diodorus.
Spartans	— 300	— 300	—	1300
Tegeatæ	— 500	— 500	Lacedæmonians	700
Mantineans	— 500	— 500	The other nations of the Peloponnese	3,000
Orchomenians	— 120	— 120		
Arcadians	— 1,000	— 1,000		
Corinthians	— 400	— 400		
Phlyontians	— 200	— 200		
Micenians	— 80	— 80		
Total	— 3,100	3,100		4,000

The above came from the Peloponnese; those who came from the other parts of Greece, according to the authors above-mentioned—

Thespians	— 700	— 700	Milesians	1,000
Thebans	— 400	— 400	—	400
Phoceans	— 1,000	— 1,000	—	1,000
Opuntian Locrians	—	— 6,000	—	1,000
	5,200	11,200		7,400

all the Opuntian Locrians had been solicited, together with a thousand Phoceans. To obtain the assistance of these, the Greeks had previously sent emissaries among them, saying, that they were the forerunners only of another and more numerous body, whose arrival was every day expected. They added, that the defence of the sea was confided to the people of Athens and Ægina, in conjunction with the rest of the fleet; that there was no occasion for alarm, as the invader of Greece was not a god, but a mere human being; that there never was nor could be any mortal superior to the vicissitudes of fortune; that the most exalted characters were exposed to the greatest evils; he therefore, a mortal, now advancing to attack them, would suffer[160] for his

---

160 *Would suffer.*]—The expedition of Xerxes to Greece, and his calamitous return, as described by Herodotus, may be well expressed by the words with which Ezekiel describes Gog's army and its destrucion.—See chapter xxxviii. and xxxix.

"Thou shalt ascend and come like a storm, thou shalt be like a cloud to cover the land, thou, and all thy bands, and many people with thee:

"Persia, Æthiopia, and Libya with them, all of them with shield and helmet.

"But I will turn thee back, and put hooks into thy jaws, I will turn thee back, and leave but the sixth part of thee: and I will smite thy bow out of thy left hand; and will cause thy arrows to fall out of thy right hand.

"Thou

temerity. These arguments proved effectual, and they accordingly marched to Trachis to join their allies.

CCIV. These troops were commanded by different officers of their respective countries; but the man most regarded, and who was intrusted with the chief command, was Leonidas of Sparta. His ancestors were, Anaxandrides, Leon, Eurycratides, Anaxander, Eurycrates, Polydorus, Alcamenes, Teleclus, Archelaus, Agesilaus, Doryssus, Leobotes, Echestratus, Agis, Eurysthenes, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hyllus, and Hercules.

CCV. An accident had placed him on the throne of Sparta; for, as he had two brothers older than himself, Cleomenes and Dorieus, he had entertained no thoughts of the government; but Cleomenes dying without male issue, and Dorieus not surviving (for he ended his days in Sicily) the crown came to Leonidas, who was older than Cleombrotus, the youngest of the sons of Anaxandrides, and who had married the daughter of Cleomenes. On the present occasion he

---

"Thou shalt fall upon the mountains, thou and all thy bands, and the people that is with thee. I will give thee unto the ravenous birds of every sort, and to the beasts of the field, to be devoured."—*T.*

took with him to Thermopylæ a body of three hundred chosen men, all of whom had children [161]. To these he added those Theban troops [162] whose number I have before mentioned, and who were conducted by Leontiades son of Eurymachus. Leonidas had selected the Thebans to accompany him, because a suspicion generally prevailed that they were secretly attached to the Medes. These therefore he summoned to attend him, to ascertain whether they would actually contribute their aid, or openly withdraw themselves from the Grecian league. With sentiments perfectly hostile, they nevertheless sent the assistance required.

CCVI. The march of this body under Leonidas was accelerated by the Spartans, that their example might stimulate their allies to action, and that they might not make their delay a pretence for going over to the Medes. The celebration

---

[161] *All of whom had children.*]—

Three hundred more compleat th' intrepid band,
Illustrious fathers all of generous sons,
The future guardians of Laconia's state. *Leonidas.*

[162] *Theban troops.*]—Plutarch upbraids Herodotus for thus slandering the Thebans; and Diodorus says, that Thebes was divided into two parties, one of which sent four hundred men to Thermopylæ.—*T.*

of the Carnian festival[163] protracted the march of their main body; but it was their intention to follow with all imaginable expedition, leaving only a small detachment for the defence of Sparta. The rest of the allies were actuated by similar motives, for the Olympic games happened to recur at this period; and as they did not expect an engagement would immediately take place at Thermopylæ, they sent only a detachment before them.

CCVII. Such were the motives of the confederate body. The Greeks who were already assembled at Thermopylæ were seized with so much terror on the approach of the Persian, that they consulted about a retreat. Those of the Peloponnese were in general of opinion, that they should return and guard the isthmus; but as the Phoceans and Locrians were exceedingly averse to this measure, Leonidas prevailed on them to continue on their post. He resolved however to send messengers round to all the states, requiring supplies, stating that their number was much too small to oppose the Medes with any effect.

[163] *Carnian festival.*]—This was continued for seven days at Sparta in honour of Apollo. Various reasons are assigned for its institution; the most plausible is that found in the Scholiast to Theocritus, which tells us that they were celebrated by the people of the Peloponnese, to commemorate the cessation of some pestilence.—*T.*

CCVIII. Whilst they thus deliberated, Xerxes sent a horseman to examine their number and their motions. He had before heard in Thessaly that a small band was collected at this passage, that they were led by Lacedæmonians, and by Leonidas of the race of Hercules. The person employed, performed his duty: all those who were without the intrenchment, he was able to reconnoitre; those who were within for the purpose of defending it, eluded his observation. The Lacedæmonians were at that period stationed without [161]; of these some were performing gymnastic exercises, whilst others were employed in combing their hair. He was greatly astonished, but he leisurely surveyed their number and employments, and returned without molestation; for they despised him too much to pursue him. He related to Xerxes all that he had seen.

---

[161] *Stationed without, &c.*]—

By chance
The Spartans then compos'd th' external guard;
They in a martial exercise employ'd,
Heed not the monarch and his gaudy train,
But poise the spear protended as in fight,
Or lift their adverse shields in single strife,
Or trooping forward rush, retreat, and wheel
In ranks unbroken, and with equal feet:
While others calm beneath their polish'd helms
Draw down their hair, whose length of sable curls
O'erspread their necks with terror. *Leonidas*

CCIX. Xerxes, on hearing the above, was little aware of what was really the case, that this people were preparing themselves either to conquer or to die. The thing appeared to him so ridiculous, that he sent for Demaratus the son of Ariston, who was then with the army. On his appearing, the king questioned him on this behaviour of the Spartans, expressing his desire to know what it might intimate. "I have before, "Sir," said Demaratus, "spoken to you of this "people, at the commencement of this expedi-"tion; and as I remember, when I related to you "what I knew you would have occasion to ob-"serve, you treated me with contempt. I am "conscious of the danger of declaring the "truth, in opposition to your prejudices; but I "will nevertheless do so. It is the determina-"tion of these men to dispute this pass with us, "and they are preparing themselves accordingly. "It is their custom before any enterprise of "danger, to adorn their hair[165]. Of this you

---

[165] *Adorn their hair.*]—Long hair distinguished the free man from the slave; and, according to Plutarch, Lycurgus was accustomed to say, that long hair added grace to handsome men, and made those who were ugly more terrific. The following are some of the most animated lines in Leonidas:

To whom the Spartan: O imperial lord,
Such is their custom, to adorn their heads

When

"may be assured, that if you vanquish these, "and their countrymen in Sparta, no other na- "tion will presume to take up arms against you: "you are now advancing to attack a people "whose realms and city are the fairest, and "whose troops are the bravest of Greece." These words seemed to Xerxes preposterous enough; but he demanded a second time, how so small a number could contend with his army. "Sir," said he, "I will submit to suffer the "punishment of falsehood, if what I say does "not happen."

CCX. Xerxes was still incredulous, he accordingly kept his position without any movement for four days, in expectation of seeing them retreat. On the fifth day, observing that they continued on their post, merely as he supposed from the most impudent rashness, he became much exasperated, and sent against them a detachment of Medes and Cissians, with a command to bring them alive to his presence. The Medes

---

When full determin'd to encounter death.
Bring down thy nations in resplendent steel;
Arm, if thou canst, the general race of man,
All who possess the regions unexplor'd
Beyond the Ganges, all whose wand'ring steps
Above the Caspian range, the Scythian wild,
With those who drink the secret fount of Nile:
Yet to Laconian bosoms shall dismay
Remain a stranger. *T.*

in consequence attacked them, and lost a considerable number. A reinforcement arrived; but though the onset was severe, no impression was made. It now became universally conspicuous, and no less so to the king himself, that he had many troops, but few men[166]. The above engagement continued all day.

CCXI. The Medes, after being very roughly treated, retired, and were succeeded by the band of Persians called by the king "the immortal," and commanded by Hydarnes. These it was supposed would succeed without the smallest difficulty. They commenced the attack, but made no greater impression than the Medes: their superior numbers were of no advantage, on account of the narrowness of the place; and their spears also were shorter than those of the Greeks. The Lacedæmonians fought in a manner which deserves to be recorded; their own excellent discipline, and the unskilfulness of their adversaries, were in many instances remarkable, and not the least so when in close ranks they affected to

166 *Many troops, but few men.*]—According to Plutarch, Leonidas being asked how he dared to encounter so prodigious a multitude with so few men, replied: "If you reckon by number, all Greece is not able to oppose a small part of that army; but if by courage, the number I have with me is sufficient."

retreat. The Barbarians seeing them retire, pursued them with a great and clamorous shout; but on their near approach the Greeks faced about to receive them. The loss of the Persians was prodigious, and a few also of the Spartans fell. The Persians, after successive efforts made with great bodies of their troops to gain the pass, were unable to accomplish it, and obliged to retire.

CCXII. It is said of Xerxes himself, that being a spectator of the contest, he was so greatly alarmed for the safety of his men, that he leaped thrice from his throne. On the following day, the Barbarians succeeded no better than before. They went to the onset as against a contemptible number, whose wounds they supposed would hardly permit them to renew the combat: but the Greeks, drawn up in regular divisions, fought each nation on its respective post, except the Phoceans, who were stationed on the summit of the mountain to defend the pass. The Persians, experiencing a repetition of the same treatment, a second time retired.

CCXIII. Whilst the king was exceedingly perplexed what conduct to pursue in the present emergence, Ephialtes the son of Eurydemus, a Melian, demanded an audience: he expected to receive some great recompense for shewing him

the path which led over the mountain to Thermopylæ: and he indeed it was who thus rendered ineffectual the valour of those Greeks who perished on this station. This man, through fear of the Lacedæmonians, fled afterwards into Thessaly; but the Pylagoræ [167], calling a council of the Amphictyons at Pylæa for this express purpose, set a price upon his head, and he was afterwards slain by Athenades, a Trachinian, at Anticyra, to which place he had returned. Athenades was induced to put him to death for some other reason, which I shall afterward [168] explain; he nevertheless received the reward offered by the Lacedæmonians:—this however was the end of Ephialtes.

CCXIV. On this subject there is also a different report, for it is said that Onetes, son of

---

[167] *Pylagoræ.*]—Many are involved in a mistake, by confounding the Pylagoræ with the Amphictyons. They were not synonymous, for though all the Pylagoræ were Amphictyons, all the Amphictyons were not Pylagoræ.—See *Potter's Archæologia Græca*, lib. i. c. 16.

[168] *I shall afterward.*]—But Herodotus no where does this; whether therefore he forgot it, or whether it appeared in some of his writings which are lost, cannot be ascertained.—See P. Wesselingi Dissertatio Herodotæa, p. 14.

"Verum nihil hujus nec libro viii. neque nono. Plures ne ergo ix. libris absolvit inquis de Athenada? An excidit ex superstitibus ejus memoria? non dixero. Oblitusne est de Athenada addere? Fieri potest. Operi longo fas est obrepere somnum."

Phanagoras, a Carystian, and Corydalus of Anticyra, were the men who informed the king of this path, and conducted the Persians round the mountain. This with me obtains no credit, for nothing is better known than that the Pylagoræ did not set a price upon the heads of Onetes or Corydalus, but upon that of Ephialtes the Trachinian [169], after, as may be presumed, a due investigation of the matter. It is also certain, that Ephialtes, conscious of his crime, endeavoured to save himself by flight: Onetes, being a Melian, might perhaps, if tolerably acquainted with the country, have known this passage; but it was certainly Ephialtes who shewed it to the Persians, and to him without scruple I impute the crime.

CCXV. The intelligence of Ephialtes gave the king infinite satisfaction, and he instantly detached Hydarnes, with the forces under his command, to avail himself of it. They left the camp at the first approach of evening; the Melians, the natives of the country, discovered this path, and by it conducted the Thessalians against the Phoceans, who had defended it by an intrenchment, and deemed themselves secure. It had never however proved of any advantage to the Melians.

---

169 *Trachinian.*]—In the preceding chapter Herodotus calls him a Melian; but this amounts to the same thing, as Trachinia made part of Melis.

CCXVI. The path of which we are speaking commences at the river Asopus. This stream flows through an aperture of the mountain called Anopæa, which is also the name of the path. This is continued through the whole length of the mountain, and terminates near the town of Alpenus. This is the first city of the Locrians, on the side next the Melians, near the rock called Melampygus [170], by the residence of the Cercopes [171]. The path is narrowest at this point.

---

170 *Melampygus.*]—See Suidas, at the article Μελαμπυγον τυχοις. The Melampygi were two brothers, and remarkable for their extreme insolence; their mother cautioned them against meeting a man who had "black buttocks." Hercules meeting them, bound them together, and suspended them from a post, with their heads downward. Afterward seeing them laugh, he inquired the reason; they told him that their mother bade them beware of meeting a man with "black buttocks." Hercules on hearing this laughed too, and let them go. Those who had "white buttocks" (λευκοπυγους) were ridiculed by the comic poets as effeminate.—See *Aristophanes Lysistrate.*

Larcher tells a story somewhat different, from the Adagia of Zenobius.—*T.*

171 *Cercopes.*]—These people were robbers. Homer is said to have written a poem on them, mentioned by Suidas at the word Ὁμηρος, and by Proclus in his life of Homer. Probably the expression extended to all sorts of robbers, of whom there were doubtless many in such a place as Œta. Plutarch mentions them as a ridiculous people, making Agis say to Alexander, "I am not a little surprised that all you great men who are descended from Jupiter take a strange delight in flatterers and buffoons: as Hercules had his Cercopians, and Bacchus his Silenians about him; so I see your majesty is pleased to have a regard for such characters."—*Larcher.*

CCXVII. Following the track which I have described, the Persians passed the Asopus, and marched all night, keeping the Œtean mountains on the right, and the Trachinian on the left. At the dawn of morning they found themselves at the summit, where, as I have before observed, a band of a thousand Phoceans in arms was stationed, both to defend their own country and this pass. The passage beneath was defended by those whom I have mentioned: of this above, the Phoceans had voluntarily promised Leonidas to undertake the charge.

CCXVIII. The approach of the Persians was discovered to the Phoceans in this manner: whilst they were ascending the mountain they were totally concealed by the thick groves of oak; but, from the stillness of the air, they were discovered by the noise they made by trampling on the leaves, a thing which might naturally happen. The Phoceans ran to arms, and in a moment the Barbarians appeared, who, seeing a number of men precipitately arming themselves, were at first struck with astonishment. They did not expect an adversary; and they had fallen in among armed troops. Hydarnes, apprehending that the Phoceans might prove to be Lacedæmonians, inquired of Ephialtes who they were. When he was informed, he drew up the Persians in order of battle. The Phoceans, not able to sustain

the heavy flight of arrows, retreated up the mountain[172], imagining themselves the objects of this attack, and expecting certain destruction: but the troops with Hydarnes and Ephialtes did not think it worth their while to pursue them, and descended rapidly down the opposite side of the mountain.

CCXIX. To those Greeks stationed in the straits of Thermopylæ, Megistias the soothsayer had previously, from inspection of the entrails, predicted that death awaited them in the morning. Some deserters[173] had also informed them of the circuit the Persians had taken; and this intelligence was in the course of the night circulated through the camp. All this was confirmed by their sentinels, who early in the morning fled

---

172 *Up the mountain.*]—Mr. Glover has been very minute and faithful in his representation of the places where this scene was exhibited.

> The Phocian chief,
> Whate'er the cause, relinquishing his post,
> Was to a *neighbouring eminence* remov'd,
> Though by the foe neglected or *contemn'd.* *T.*

173 *Deserters.*]—Diodorus Siculus mentions but one: "There was in the army," says he, "one Tyrastiades of Cyrne; as he was a man of honour and probity, he fled from the camp by night, and going to Leonidas and his party, discovered to them the designs of Ephialtes."—*Larcher.*

down the sides of the mountain. In this predicament, the Greeks called a council, who were greatly divided in their opinions: some were for remaining on their station, others advised a retreat. In consequence of their not agreeing, many of them dispersed to their respective cities; a part resolved to continue with Leonidas.

CCXX. It is said, that those who retired, only did so in compliance with the wishes of Leonidas, who was desirous to preserve them: but he thought that he himself, with his Spartans, could not without the greatest ignominy forsake the post they had come to defend. I am myself inclined to believe that Leonidas, seeing his allies not only reluctant, but totally averse to resist the danger which menaced them, consented to their retreat. His own return he considered as dishonourable, whilst he was convinced that his defending his post would equally secure his own fame, and the good of Sparta. In the very beginning of these disturbances, the Spartans having consulted the oracle, were informed that either their king must die, or Sparta be vanquished by the Barbarians. The oracle was communicated in hexameter verses, and was to this effect:

" To you who dwell in Sparta's ample walls,
" Behold, a dire alternative befalls;—

" Your glorious city must in ruins lie,
" Or slain by Persian arms, a king must die,
" A king descended from Herculean blood.
" For, lo! he comes, and cannot be withstood;
" Nor bulls, nor lions, can dispute the field,
" 'Tis Jove's own force, and this or that must
" yield."

I am unwilling to insinuate of the allies who departed, that differing in opinion from their leader, they dishonourably deserted. I should also suppose that the conduct of Leonidas was the result of his revolving the oracle[174] in his mind, and of his great desire to secure to the Spartans alone, the glory of this memorable action.

CCXXI. To me it is no small testimony of the truth of this supposition, that among those whom Leonidas dismissed, was Megistias himself. He

---

174 *The oracle.*]—Plutarch is very severe upon Herodotus for his manner of representing these circumstances: some of which he says our author has done falsely, others maliciously. This however does not seem to have been the case.

Glover makes Leonidas exclaim, on hearing that the enemy had circumvented him,

I now behold the oracle fulfill'd.—
Then art thou near, thou glorious sacred hour
Which shall my country's liberty secure?
Thrice hail, thou solemn period; thee the tongues
Of virtue, fame, and freedom, shall proclaim,
Shall celebrate in ages yet unborn! *T.*

was of Acarnania, and, as some affirm, descended from Melampus; he accompanied Leonidas on this expedition, and from the entrails had predicted what would happen: he refused however to leave his friends, and satisfied himself with sending away his only son, who had followed his father on this occasion.

CCXXII. Obedient to the direction of their leader, the confederates retired. The Thespians and Thebans [175] alone remained with the Spartans, the Thebans indeed very reluctantly, but they were detained by Leonidas as hostages. The Thespians were very zealous in the cause, and refusing to abandon their friends, perished with them. The leader of the Thespians was Demophilus, son of Diadromas.

CCXXIII. Xerxes early in the morning offered a solemn libation, then waiting till the hour of full forum [176], he advanced from his camp: to

---

[175] *Thespians and Thebans.*]—Diodorus Siculus speaks only of the Thespians. Pausanias says that the people of Mycene sent eighty men to Thermopylæ, who had part in this glorious day; and in another place he says, that all the allies retired before the battle, except the Thespians and people of Mycene.—*Larcher.*

It is probable that Diodorus speaks only of the Thespians, because the Thebans did not remain voluntarily.

[176] *Full forum.*]—I have before explained this circumstance with respect to the mode of computing time.

the above measure he had been advised by Ephialtes. The descent from the mountain is much shorter than the circuitous ascent. The Barbarians with Xerxes approached; Leonidas and his Greeks proceeded, as to inevitable death, a much greater space from the defile than they had yet done. Till now they had defended themselves behind their intrenchment, fighting in the most contracted part of the passage; but on this day they engaged on a wider space, and a multitude of their opponents fell. Behind each troop of Persians, officers were stationed with whips in their hands, compelling with blows their men to advance. Many of them fell into the sea, where they perished; many were trodden under foot by their own troops, without exciting the smallest pity or regard. The Greeks, conscious that their destruction was at hand from those who had taken the circuit of the mountain, exerted themselves with the most desperate valour against their Barbarian assailants.

CCXXIV. Their spears being broken in pieces, they had recourse to their swords [177].

---

[177] *Their swords.*]—The soldiers of the Lacedæmonians wore a red uniform; and Suidas says, that it was because the blood of those who were wounded would thus be less conspicuous.—*T.*

Leonidas fell in the engagement, having greatly signalized himself; and with him many Spartans of distinction, as well as others of inferior note. I am acquainted with the names of all the three hundred. Many illustrious Persians also were slain, among whom were Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, sons of Darius, by Phrataguna, the daughter of Artanes. Artanes was the brother of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, and grandson of Arsamis. Having married his daughter to Darius, as she was an only child, all his wealth went with her.

CCXXV. These two brothers of Xerxes fell as they were contending for the body of Leonidas[178]: here the conflict was the most severe,

---

178 *Body of Leonidas.*]—One of the noblest descriptions in Homer is that of the battle for the body of Patroclus; and we learn from various examples, that the ancients were remarkably tenacious on this head, deeming it the greatest baseness to forsake the dead bodies of their friends. Plutarch, in his parallels between the Romans and Greeks, thus describes the death of Leonidas:

"Whilst they were at dinner, the Barbarians fell upon them: upon which Leonidas desired them to eat heartily, for they were to sup with Pluto. Leonidas charged at the head of his troops, and after receiving a multitude of wounds, got up to Xerxes himself, and snatched the crown from his head. He lost his life in the attempt; and Xerxes, causing his body to be opened, found his heart hairy. So says Aristides, in his first book of his Persian History." This

till at length the Greeks by their superior valour four times repelled the Persians, and drew aside the body of their prince. In this situation they continued till Ephialtes and his party approached. As soon as the Greeks perceived them at hand, the scene was changed, and they retreated to the narrowest part of the pass. Having repassed their intrenchment, they posted themselves, all except the Thebans, in a compact body, upon a hill, which is at the entrance of the straits, and where a lion of stone [179] has been erected in honour of Leonidas. In this situation, they who had swords left, used them against the enemy, the rest exerted themselves with their hands and their teeth [180]. The Barbarians rushing upon

---

fiction seems to have been taken from the λασιον κηρ of Homer.

[179] *Lion of stone.*]—Two epigrams on this subject may be found in the Analecta Veterum Poet. Græc. v. i. 132. v. ii. 162. The bones of Leonidas were carried back to Sparta by Pausanias, forty years after his death; they were placed in a monument opposite the theatre: every year they pronounced in this place a funeral oration, and celebrated games, at which the Spartans only were suffered to contend.—*Larcher.*

[180] *Their teeth.*]—"What are we to think of this hyperbole?" says Longinus; "What probability is there that men should defend themselves with their hands and teeth against armed troops? This nevertheless is not incredible, for the thing does not appear to be sought out for an hyperbole; but the hyperbole seems to arise from the subject."

This

them, some in front, after overturning their wall, others surrounding and pressing them in all directions, finally overpowered them.

This circumstance which appeared hyperbolical to Longinus dees not to me; this mode of fighting was common amongst the Lacedæmonians; when they had no arms, they availed themselves of their nails and teeth: Cicero had been a witness of this.—See the *Tusculan Questions*, book fifth, chapter 27th.

There is also another memorable instance of men fighting with hands and teeth, in the Numidian soldier, at the battle of Cannæ, who was found in the field expiring under the body of a dead Roman, whose head he was tearing with his teeth, not being able to use his hands as weapons. See Livy, xxvii. 51.

Diodorus Siculus relates the battle of Thermopylæ somewhat differently; he tells us that Leonidas, when he knew that he was circumvented, made a bold attempt by night to penetrate to the tent of Xerxes; but this the Persian king had forsaken on the first alarm. The Greeks however proceeded in search of him from one side to the other, and slew a prodigious multitude. When morning approached, the Persians perceiving the Greeks so few in number, held them in contempt; but they still did not dare to attack them in front; encompassing them on both sides, and behind, they slew them all with their spears. Such was the end of Leonidas and his party.

Mr. Glover, in his English Poem of Leonidas, has followed the account of Diodorus; he differs however from both historians, in making the king of Sparta fall the last; his description is sufficiently animated to be inserted in this place:

— — — The Spartan king
Now stands alone. In heaps his slaughter'd friends
All stretched around him lie. The distant foes
Show'r on his head innumerable darts;

From

CCXXVI. Such was the conduct of the Lacedæmonians and Thespians; but none of them distinguished themselves so much as Dieneces the Spartan. A speech of his is recorded, which he made before they came to any engagement. A certain Trachinian having observed, that the Barbarians would send forth such a shower of arrows that their multitude would obscure the sun; he replied, like a man ignorant of fear, and despising the numbers of the Medes, "our Tra-" chinian friend promises us great advantages; " if the Medes obscure the sun's light, we shall " fight them in the shade, and be protected " from the heat." Many other sayings have been handed down as monuments of this man's fame.

CCXXVII. Next to him, the most distinguished of the Spartans were, Alpheus and Maron, two brothers, the sons of Orsiphantus;

From various sluices gush the vital floods;
They stain his fainting limbs; nor yet with pain
His brow is clouded; but those beauteous wounds,
The sacred pledges of his own renown,
And Sparta's safety, in serenest joy
His closing eye contemplates. Fame can twine
No brighter laurels round his glorious head;
His virtue more to labour fate forbids,
And lays him now in honourable rest,
To seal his country's liberty by death.

of the Thespians, the most conspicuous was Dithyrambus, son of Harmatidas.

CCXXVIII. All these were interred in the place where they fell, together with such of the confederates as were slain before the separation of the forces by Leonidas. Upon their tomb was this inscription:

"Here once, from Pelops' sea-girt region brought,
"Four thousand men three hostile millions fought."

This was applied to them all collectively. The Spartans were thus distinguished:

"Go, stranger, and to list'ning Spartans tell,
"That here, obedient to their laws, we fell."

There was one also appropriated to the prophet Megistias:

"By Medes cut off beside Sperchius' wave,
"The seer Megistias fills this glorious grave:
"Who stood the fate he well foresaw to meet,
"And, link'd with Sparta's leaders, scorn'd retreat."

All these ornaments and inscriptions, that of Megistias alone excepted, were here placed by the Amphictyons. Simonides, son of Leoprepis[181],

---

181 *Simonides, son of Leoprepis.*]—See note to book v. c. 102. The Simonides here mentioned composed several works, the titles of which may be seen in the Bibliotheca Græca of Fabricius, v. i. p. 565.

inscribed the one to the honour of Megistias, from the ties of private hospitality.

CCXXIX. Of these three hundred, there were two named Eurytus and Aristodemus; both of them, consistently with the discipline of their country, might have secured themselves by retiring to Sparta, for Leonidas had permitted them to leave the camp; but they continued at Alpenus, being both afflicted by a violent disorder of the eyes: or, if they had not thought proper to return home, they had the alternative of meeting death in the field with their fellow-soldiers. In this situation they differed in opinion what conduct to pursue. Eurytus having heard of the circuit made by the Persians, called for his arms, and putting them on, commanded his helot to conduct him to the battle. The slave did so, and immediately fled, whilst his master died fighting valiantly. Aristodemus pusillanimously staid where he was. If either Aristodemus, being individually diseased, had retired home, or if they had returned together, I cannot think that the Spartans could have shewn any resentment against them; but as one of them died in the field, which the other, who was precisely in the same circumstances, refused to do, it was impossible not to be greatly incensed against Aristodemus.

CCXXX. The safe return of Aristodemus to

Sparta is by some thus related and explained. There are others who assert, that he was dispatched on some business from the army, and might, if he had pleased, have been present at the battle, but that he saved himself by lingering on the way. They add, that his companion, employed on the same business, returned to the battle, and there fell.

CCXXXI. Aristodemus, on his return, was branded with disgrace and infamy; no one would speak with him; no one would supply him with fire; and the opprobrious term of trembler * was annexed to his name; but he afterward, at the battle of Platea, effectually atoned for his former conduct.

CCXXXII. It is also said that another of the three hundred survived; his name was Pantites, and he had been sent on some business to Thessaly. Returning to Sparta, he felt himself in disgrace, and put an end to his life.

CCXXXIII. The Thebans, under the com-

---

* *Trembler.*]—He who trembled, ὁ τρεσας; it might be rendered *quaker:* this seems to have been an established term of opprobrium in Sparta; Tyrtæus says, τρεσσαντων δ'ανδρων παν' απολωλ' αρετη—"the *tremblers* are devoid of all virtue." See Brunck's Anal. vol. i. p. 49.—*T.*

mand of Leontiades, hitherto constrained by force, had fought with the Greeks against the Persians; but as soon as they saw that the Persians were victorious, when Leonidas and his party retired to the hill, they separated themselves from the Greeks. In the attitude of suppliants they approached the Barbarians, assuring them what was really the truth, that they were attached to the Medes; that they had been among the first to render earth and water; that they had only come to Thermopylæ on compulsion, and could not be considered as accessary to the slaughter of the king's troops. The Thessalians confirming the truth of what they had asserted, their lives were preserved. Some of them however were slain; for as they approached, the Barbarians put several to the sword; but the greater part, by the order of Xerxes, had the royal marks impressed upon them, beginning with Leontiades himself. Eurymachus his son was afterward slain at the head of four hundred Thebans, by the people of Platea, whilst he was making an attempt upon their city.

CCXXXIV. In this manner the Greeks fought [182] at Thermopylæ. Xerxes afterward

182 *The Greeks fought.*]—Plutarch censures Herodotus for

sent for Demaratus, and thus addressed him: "I have already, Demaratus, had experience of

---

omitting many memorable things relating to Leonidas. Some of those specified by Plutarch I have already introduced in my notes, others were as follow: when the wife of Leonidas took leave of him, she asked him what commands he had for her? "Marry," said he, in reply, "a good man, and bring him good children."—Being desirous to save two of his relations, who were with him at Thermopylæ, he pretended to give them messages to the senate of Sparta: "I followed you," says one of them, "to fight, not as a messenger." "What you enjoin," says the other, "is the business of a messenger;" he then took up his shield and placed himself in his rank.

I cannot in a more proper place than this, make a few miscellaneous remarks upon the institutions of Lycurgus, and the manners of the Spartans; not that I entertain any hope of throwing new light on a subject which has been amply investigated by the learned; but I may perhaps be able to make a few things familiar to my English readers, which were obscure or unknown to them before. The Spartans are renowned in the volumes of antiquity for one virtue above all others: I speak of their fortitude, which they carried to an amazing and almost incredible perfection, a virtue, which if we canvass and examine it to the extent in which it was practised by this extraordinary people, will seem almost peculiar to themselves.

It was the aim of Lycurgus to settle and root in the minds of the Spartans this principle, that the preference was always to be given to virtue, which constituted the only real difference or inequality between one man and another. And he succeeded almost to a miracle. He persuaded them to renounce all other means of happiness usually but falsely so

" your truth and integrity, every thing has hap-
" pened as you foretold; tell me then, how

---

called, to make virtue their chief and only object, and to put themselves, their desires, and their hopes to this single test. He prevailed on the rich and noble to give up their ample possessions, to throw all they had into a common fund, and to reduce themselves to a level with their neighbours. And these men, instead of the soft and tender blandishments of plenty, the sweets of luxury, and the pride of life, to which they had been accustomed, were contented to submit to the austerities of a severe and painful discipline; to sit down to a coarse mess of black Spartan broth; to make no appearance, to expect no treatment abroad better than others. This astonishing reformation was confirmed and secured by two expedients; the one, which obliged every person to dine constantly in public with his own tribe, on the dinner which was provided for them at the expense of the state; the other, which forbade the use of any other than iron money: by these salutary injunctions, every opportunity of indulging in luxury was cut off, as well as the means of providing for it. They rendered money altogether useless among them, so that, Plutarch informs us, it was a common saying in other countries, " that at Sparta, and there alone, of all the cities of the world, Plutus the god of riches was blind; a mere picture or statue without life or motion." I would here remark, that this is one note of difference which Polybius assigns against those who likened the Cretan polity to the Spartan, see book sixth. Plato also, when he reckons riches the fourth ordinary blessing to a state, certainly could not esteem this disregard of money which prevailed in Sparta as a mark of extraordinary virtue; but ordinances so self-denying, so opposite to the suggestions of sense, and the ordinary practice of mankind, would not have been received on the authority of Lycurgus, if they had not been favoured by a character of mind peculiar to this

" many of the Lacedæmonians may there be left,
" how many of like valour with those who have

people. It was the natural and constitutional bravery of the Spartans which inclined them to admit and obey such a plan and form of government.

Precept and authority alone would not have done it, for the passions of men are neither to be reasoned nor terrified from their own bent and tendency: it is therefore but rendering justice to this gallant people to confess, that their bravery of mind was founded in inclination and principle. Cicero observes, that the Spartans (and the same could not be said of any other people in the world) had retained their primitive manners, without changing their laws, for more than seven hundred years.—See Orat. pro L. Flacco. Lacedæmonii soli, toto orbe terrarum, septingentos annos et amplius suis moribus et nunquam mutatis legibus, vixerunt. —See also *Livy*, book xxx. c. 34.

Plutarch says, only five hundred years, until the time of Agis, son of Archidamus, in which period fourteen kings had reigned. See his Life of Lycurgus. The conquests of Lysander in Asia, by filling Lacedæmon with money, introduced luxury, and vitiated their morals; several examples of which are produced by Xenophon. The women of Sparta seem little less entitled to admiration; strangers to the natural weakness and softness of their sex, they were actuated by the same gallant spirit as the men. They submitted to a like discipline, and endured similar hardships. Instead of studying the accomplishments which usually distinguish a female education, they accustomed themselves to manly exercises; to running, wrestling, throwing the dart or quoit; having the emulation to contend with men at their own arts, and to bear them company in the same paths of glory.

I cannot help presuming, with respect to the dames as well as the men of Sparta, that it must have been something innate, something beyond the power of education, custom, or

" perished, or are they all alike?" "Sir," replied Demaratus, " the Lacedæmonians are a

---

example, which constitutes the wonderful difference we discern in them, compared with all other women. Can it, then, be a matter of wonder, that the Spartan females claimed extraordinary privileges at home, and more extensive power in the government of their families? Lycurgus disliked that excessive authority which the women had usurped, and attempted, it seems, to reform it, and to restore to the husband the usual and proper authority in his own house; but in vain: a convincing argument, that if the women had not of themselves been inclined to his laws of female education, they would have paid them neither attention nor obedience. War, then, and conquest, with the endurance of fatigue, were the principal objects which the Spartans had in view. Learning, and the study of letters, of arts and sciences, to which their neighbours the Athenians were devoted, were in no repute among them. Hence it has been observed, that the former made the better figure in war, the latter in peace.—See Valerius Maximus, l. ii. c. 6. Egregios virtutis bellicæ spiritus Lacedæmoniorum, prudentissimi pacis moribus Athenienses subsequuntur.

And this was unquestionably true, since we are assured, that although the most rigorous care was taken to keep their youth constantly to their exercises, their men of mature years were permitted to live just as they pleased; they followed no employment, they disdained industry and honest labour, and were indeed forbidden to pursue any art, which was accounted liberal; even husbandry, and the management and culture of their lands, the most rational and most public-spirited study that can be pursued, they left entirely to their slaves. The old men of Sparta spent the whole of their time in frequenting the schools and apartments of the youth, as at Athens they did at the public places of resort, to hear or to tell some new thing. The former indeed could

" numerous people, and possessed of many cities. " But I will answer your question more parti-

---

mispend their time in this manner with more grace, and might plead the authority of Lycurgus in their vindication, whose polity and scheme of government aimed at maintaining an equality among the people, by restraining them from trade, and the arts of growing rich. The design of Solon was entirely the reverse; he strove to animate the Athenians with a spirit of industry; he enacted a law against idleness, requiring every person to have a calling and profession; and the philosopher, who had none, fell under the statute. Cleanthes and Menedemus were indicted and called before the Areopagus on this account. The statute which restrained the study of rhetoric at Rome assigned this reason: " Ibi homines adolescentulos totos dies desidere;" for the same reason philosophers were banished, amongst whom was Epictetus in the reign of Domitian.—See *Aulus Gellius*, l. xv. c. 11.

I have little to say on the religion of the Spartans. The object of their worship seems to have been diversified by them as well as by the Athenians, according to the system of politics which their respective law-givers established. Solon, intent upon promoting commerce and gainful arts, presented the GREAT GODDESS to the Athenians, holding in her right hand the weaver's beam, and he surnamed her from the Ægyptians, Athene and Minerva, styling her the goddess of arts and sciences. Lycurgus, training up the Spartans to the discipline of war, clothed the same goddess in armour, called her Pallas and the Goddess of Battle (παμμαχος και χαλκιοικος θεα) Aristoph. Lysist. ad finem. She was styled Chalciœcus, either because her temple was of brass, or because it was built by fugitives from Chalcis in Eubœa. The brothers also, Castor and Pollux, were for similar reasons enrolled in the Fasti of the Spartans; and I presume, if the Pagan Theology be capable of being reduced

" cularly. Sparta itself contains eight thousand " men, all of whom are equal in valour to those " who fought here; the other Lacedæmonians, " though inferior to these, are still brave!" " Tell " me, then," returned Xerxes, " how we may " subdue these men with least trouble? you who " have been their prince, must know what mea- " sures they are likely to pursue."

CCXXXV. " Since, Sir," answered Demaratus, " you place a confidence in my opinion, " it is proper that I should speak to you from " the best of my judgment: I would therefore " recommend you to send a fleet of three hun- " dred vessels to the coast of Lacedæmonia. " Contiguous to this is an island named Cy- " thera, of which Chilon, the wisest of our coun- " trymen, observed, that it would be better for " the Spartans if it were buried in the sea; fore- " seeing the probability of such a measure as " I now recommend. From this island your " troops may spread terror over Sparta. Thus, " a war so very near them, may remove from " you any apprehension of their assisting the

---

to any fixed and settled rules, it will be best explained and accounted for by supposing the religion of every different nation or people to be a mixture of worship, and physics, and politics, and that their idols were representations of natural causes, named and habited according to the different tempers and genius of those who set them up.—*T.*

"rest of Greece, which will then be open to "your arms, and which, if subdued, will leave "Sparta hardly able to oppose you. If my ad- "vice be disregarded, you may expect what fol- "lows. There is a narrow isthmus in the Pelo- "ponnese, in which all its people will assemble "in resistance to your arms, and where you will "have far more violent contests to sustain than "you have here experienced. If you execute "what I propose, you may without a battle be- "come master of the isthmus, with all the cities "of Peloponnesus."

CCXXXVI. Achæmenes the brother of Xerxes, and commander of the fleet, was present at this interview. Fearful that the king might do as he had been advised, he thus delivered his sentiments: "You seem, Sir," said he, "too much "inclined to listen to a man, who either envies "your prosperity, or wishes to betray you. It "is the character of Greeks to envy the suc- "cessful, and to hate their superiors. We have "already lost by shipwreck four hundred vessels; "if we detach three hundred more to the Pelo- "ponnese, the force of our opponents will be "equal to our own; our united fleet will be far "superior to theirs, and, with respect to any ef- "forts they can make, invincible. If your forces "by land, and your fleet by sea advance at the "same time, they will be able mutually to assist

"each other; if you separate them, the fleet "will not be able to assist you, nor you the "fleet. It becomes you to deliberate well on "your own affairs, and not to concern yourself "about those of your enemies, nor to enquire "where they will commence their hostilities, "what measures they will take, or how nu- "merous they are. Let them attend to their "affairs, we to ours. If the Lacedæmonians "shall presume to attack the Persians, they "will be far from repairing the loss they have "already sustained."

CCXXXVII. "Achæmenes," answered Xerxes, "I approve your counsel, and will follow it. "The sentiments of Demaratus are, I well know, "dictated by his regard to my interests; but "your advice to me seems preferable. I cannot "be persuaded that he has any improper inten- "tions, events having proved the wisdom of his "former counsels. One man frequently envies "the prosperity of another, and indulges in se- "cret sentiments of hatred against him; neither "will he, when he requires it, give him salutary "advice, unless indeed from some surprising ef- "fort of virtue; but a friend exults in a friend's "happiness; has no sentiments for him but those "of the truest kindness, and gives him always "the best advice. Let no one therefore in fu- "ture use any invective against Demaratus, who "is my friend."

CCXXXVIII. When Xerxes had finished, he went to view the dead, among whom was Leonidas. When he heard that he had been the prince and leader of Sparta, he ordered his head to be cut off, and his body to be suspended on a cross*. This incident is no small proof to me, among many others, that Xerxes indulged the warmest indignation against Leonidas whilst he was alive. He otherwise would not have treated him when dead with such barbarity. I know that the Persians, of all mankind, most highly honour military virtue. The orders, however, of the king were executed.

CCXXXIX. I shall now return to the thread of our history. The Spartans were the first who were acquainted with the king's designs against Greece; they sent to the oracle on the occasion, and received the answer I have related. The intelligence was communicated to them in an extraordinary manner. Demaratus, the son

* This proceeding of Xerxes is wholly inconsistent with what is told in chap. clxxxi. of this book, where the Persians are represented as testifying the warmest admiration of military virtue. The whole, however, of the character of Xerxes exhibits the greatest contradiction, and would afford excellent materials for a separate essay. At one time we find him sagacious in his enquiries, and profound in his remarks; at another, preposterous, absurd, and puerile; at one time distinguished by the tenderest humanity, at another guilty of the most unprovoked and wanton barbarity.

of Ariston, had taken refuge among the Medes, and, as there is every reason to suppose, was not friendly to the Spartans. He however it was who informed them of what was meditated; whether to serve or insult them, must be left to conjecture. When Xerxes had resolved on this expedition against Greece, Demaratus, who was at Susa, and acquainted with his intentions, determined to inform the Lacedæmonians. As this was both difficult and dangerous, he employed the following means: he took two tablets, and erased the wax from each; then inscribed the purpose of the king upon the wood. This done, he replaced the wax, that the several guards on the road, from seeing the empty tablets, might have no suspicion of the business. When these were delivered at Lacedæmon, the people had no conception of their meaning, till, as I have been informed, Gorgo, the daughter of Cleomenes and wife of Leonidas, removed the difficulty. Imagining what might be intended, she ordered the wax to be removed, and thus made the contents of the tablets known. The Lacedæmonians, after examining what was inscribed on the wood, circulated the intelligence through Greece.

HERODOTUS.

BOOK VIII.

URANIA.

CHAP. I.

HAVE before described these events as they are said to have happened. The Greeks who composed the naval armament were these: The Athenians[1] furnished one hundred and twenty-seven vessels, part of which were manned by Plateans, who, though ignorant of sea affairs, were prompted by zeal and courage; the Corinthians brought forty ships, the Megarians twenty; the Chalcidians equipped twenty ships, which the Athenians supplied; the Æginetæ eighteen, the

[1] *Athenians.*]—Diodorus Siculus makes the number of Athenian vessels on this occasion two hundred.

Sicyonians twelve, and the Lacedæmonians ten; the Epidaurians brought eight, the Eretrians seven, the Trœzenians five, the Styreans two; the people of Ceos two, and two barks of fifty oars; the Opuntian Locrians assisted the confederates with seven vessels of fifty oars.

II. These were stationed at Artemisium; and such were the numbers which each nation supplied. Without taking into the account the vessels of fifty oars, the whole amounted to two hundred and seventy-one. Of these the commander-in-chief appointed by the Spartans, was Eurybiades, the son of Euryclidas. The allies refused to serve under the Athenians, and had resolved, unless they had a Spartan leader, to disperse *.

III. At first, and before any deputation had been sent to Sicily requiring assistance, it had been debated whether it would not be expedient

* Such are the blessed effects of a republican government.—The two contending states, Athens and Lacedæmon, hazarded the well-being and existence of Greece on the stake of their ambition. These were the nations who risked all for liberty, and among whom liberty flourished. But still more striking effects of intrigue appeared just before the battle of Platæa, when some Athenian leaders were on the point of sacrificing both Athens and Greece to Persia, and were so agitated by the divisions of contending parties, that they entered with reluctance even upon the necessary means of their self-preservation.—*T.*

to entrust the conduct of the naval forces to the Athenians; but as this was opposed by the allies, the Athenians did not insist upon it[2]. Their principal concern was the welfare of Greece, and as they were sensible that this would be endangered by any contention, they very wisely withdrew their claims. As much as war itself is more destructive than peace, so much more dangerous are intestine commotions, than a war conducted with consistency and union: persuaded of this, they did not dispute the matter whilst circumstances justified and required their forbearance. Afterwards, when, having repelled the Persian, they were contending for what belonged to him, they made the insolence of Pausanias a pretence for depriving the Lacedæmonians of the command. These, however, were things which happened afterwards.

IV. When the Greeks assembled at Artemisium saw the number of ships which were collected at Aphetæ, and every place crowded with troops, they were struck with terror; and as the attempts of

---

[2] *Did not insist upon it.*]—Mr. Glover, in his Poem of the Athenaid, puts this sentiment into the mouth of Themistocles:

Wisely did we cede
To Spartan Eurybiades command;
The different squadrons to their native ports
Had else deserted, &c.

the Barbarians had succeeded so much beyond their expectations, they consulted about retreating to the interior parts of Greece[3]. When this idea had been generally circulated, the Eubœans entreated Eurybiades to give them time to remove their children and their slaves. Unsuccessful in this application, they went to Themistocles, the Athenian leader, on whom they prevailed, for the consideration of thirty talents, to continue at Eubœa, and risk the event of a battle.

V. This was effected by Themistocles in the following manner: He presented Eurybiades with five talents, as if from himself; having gained him, he had only to prevail on Adimantus the Corinthian[4], the son of Ocytus, who was obstinate in

---

[3] *Parts of Greece.*]—Plutarch is very severe upon Herodotus for making this assertion. Pindar, says he, who was a native of a city supposed to be attached to the Medes, mentions the behaviour of the Athenians at Artemisium with the highest encomiums. So perhaps he might, but what does this prove? certainly not that the Greeks did not stay and fight against their will, though when they actually were engaged, they behaved with extraordinary valour.—*T.*

[4] *Adimantus the Corinthian.*]—This Adimantus in the event behaved timidly. He was a Corinthian, and leader of the Corinthians; he must not therefore be confounded with the Athenian Adimantus, who greatly distinguished himself against the Persians, and who, probably, is the same person who was archon in the fourth year of the seventy-fifth

his determination to sail from Artemisium. After using the solemnity of an oath, "if you," said he, "will not desert, I promise you a greater "present than the king of the Medes would have "given you for leaving us." He instantly sent to his vessel three talents of silver. By these gifts he gained the commanders to his purpose, and satisfied the Eubœans. Themistocles rewarded himself by keeping the remainder*, whilst they who had accepted of his presents supposed the money had been sent him from Athens for this purpose.

VI. They continued therefore at Eubœa, and came to a battle. The barbarians arriving at break of day at Aphetæ, had before heard that the Greeks at Artemisium were very few in number. On their seeing this, they were eager to engage, in expectation of taking them; they did not, however, think it expedient to advance directly to the attack, lest the Greeks, perceiving

---

Olympiad. An epitaph by Simonides was inscribed on his tomb, intimating, that by his counsels Greece became free. —*Larcher.*

See c. 94 of this book, where it is represented that Adimantus was seized with a panic, and fled at the beginning of the fight.

* Other accounts say that he gave one talent to Archibeles the Athenian.—See the story related at length in Plutarch's Life of Themistocles.

them, should escape under cover of the night. The Persians had already boasted that not even the torch-bearer[5] should escape them.

VII. With this idea they pursued the following

---

[5] *Torch-bearer.*]—Before trumpets were used in armies, the signal for battle was given by a torch. Those who carried it were sacred to Mars; they advanced at the head of armies, and in the interval betwixt them they dropt their torch, and retired without molestation. The armies engaged, and even if a whole army was destroyed, they spared the life of the torch-bearer, because he was sacred to Mars; thence came a proverb applicable to total defeats, "Not even the torch-bearer has escaped." Herodotus is the first author where we meet with this expression, which afterwards became so familiar that it passed into a proverb. —*Larcher.*

It is probable, that in the time of Homer no signals for battle were in use, as we find no mention of any throughout his works: in both Iliad and Odyssey we find torches placed on the tops of hills to give intelligence of certain events. Modern signals for battle are, by land, drums and trumpets; by sea they are more various, and are given by cannon, lights, sails, and colours. The Romans, in addition to the shout with which all nations have been described as commencing an engagement, violently clashed their arms together. Milton makes a happy use of this idea.

> He spake, and, to confirm his words, out flew
> Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thigh
> Of mighty cherubim. The sudden blaze
> Far round illumin'd hell: highly they raged
> Against the Highest, and fierce *with grasped arms*
> *Clash'd on their sounding shields the din of war,*
> Hurling defiance toward the vault of heaven.—*T*

measures: two hundred chosen vessels were detached beyond Sciathus, lest in passing round Eubœa they might be discovered by the enemy off Capharea and Geræstus, near the Euripus, meaning thus to enclose them, and commence an attack at the same time in the rear and in front. With this design the appointed squadrons set sail. It was not their intention to attack the Greeks on this day, nor till a signal should be given by the detachment with which they were to act in concert. On the departure of the former, an account was taken of the number of those which continued as Aphetæ.

VIII. Whilst the Persians were thus employed, they happened to have with them Scyllias[6] of

---

[6] *Scyllias.*]—The name of this skilful diver is differently written. In an epigram of Apollonides it is Scyllos, in Pliny and Pausanias it is Scillis. Scyllias had taught his daughter Cyane the art of diving; during the tempest, which surprized the Persians near mount Pelion, they plunged together under the water, and removed the anchors which held the vessels of Xerxes, which occasioned considerable injury. By order of the Amphictyons, statues were erected to the father and daughter in the temple of Apollo at Delphi. The statue of Cyane was amongst those which by the command of Nero were transported to Rome.—*Larcher.*

Brydone, in his entertaining Tour through Sicily and Malta, informs us, that the Sicilian authors make mention of one Colas, who, from his extraordinary skill in diving,

Scios, the most skilful diver of his time, who, in the shipwreck off Pelion, had preserved to the Persians an immense quantity of treasure, and at the same time considerably enriched himself. This man had long intended to desert to the Greeks, but he had never before had the opportunity: he on this day effected his purpose; it is uncertain in what manner, but if what is related of him be true, it is really astonishing. It is said, that having leaped into the sea at Aphetæ, he did not rise again till he came to Artemisium, having gone a space of eighty stadia through the water. Other things are related of this man, some of which appear to be fabulous, whilst others are actually true. For my own part, I am inclined to the opinion, that he escaped to Artemisium in a little vessel; on his arrival, he informed the commanders of the shipwreck[7], and of the ships which had been sent round Eubœa.

IX. Upon this the Greeks called a council.

---

was named Pesce, or the fish. It was said of him, that without coming at all to land, he could live for several days in the water; that he caught fish merely by his agility in the water, and that he could even walk across the straits at the bottom of the sea. One of their kings had the cruelty to propose his diving near the gulph of Charybdis, and to tempt him threw in a golden cup. In a third attempt to gain this, it is supposed he was caught by the whirlpool, for he appeared no more.—*T.*

[7] *Shipwreck.*]—See book vii. chap. 188.

Various opinions were delivered: but it was ultimately determined to remain that day on their station, and to depart soon after midnight, to meet that part of the enemy's fleet which had been sent round Eubœa. As they perceived no one advancing against them, as soon as the twilight appeared, they proceeded towards the Barbarians, determining to make experiment of their skill in fighting and manœuvring.

X. The commanders and forces of Xerxes seeing them approach in so small a body, conceived them to be actuated by extreme infatuation[8], and, drawing out their vessels, expected to find them an easy conquest. In this they were not unreasonable, for their fleet was superior to the Greeks, not only in number but swiftness; in

---

8 *Extreme infatuation.*]—With the same contempt the French are represented to have considered the English army before the battle of Agincourt. This is expressed with the greatest animation by Shakspeare, in his Henry the Fifth.

His numbers are so few,
His soldiers sick and famish'd in their march;
And I am sure, when he shall see our army,
He 'll drop his heart into the sink of fear,
And for achievement, offer us his ransom.

To the Persians, as well as to the French, the noble answer of Henry to the French herald was happily applicable.

The man that once did sell the lion's skin
While the beast liv'd, was kill'd with hunting him.

contempt, therefore, they surrounded them. There were some of the Ionians who wished well to the Greeks, and served against them with the greatest reluctance; seeing them thus encircled, they were affected with much uneasiness concerning them, not supposing that any could escape, so insignificant did they appear. There were other Ionians, to whom the seeming distress of the Greeks gave great pleasure; these contended with all exertion who should take the first Athenian vessel, in hopes of a reward from the king. For among the Barbarians greater reputation[9] was allowed to the Athenians, than to any other of the allies.

XI. The Greeks, as soon as the signal was given, turned their prows towards the Barbarians, collecting their sterns into one common centre. On a second signal, though compressed within a narrow space, they attacked the enemy in front. They soon took thirty of the Barbarian vessels, among whom was Philaon, son of Chersis, and

---

9 *Greater reputation.*]—Notwithstanding what is here asserted in favour of the Athenians, their own historian remarks, that, from the best conjectures he was able to form, his countrymen had done nothing worthy of being recorded, either at home or abroad, from the Trojan to the Persic and Peloponnesian wars. *Thucydides*, l. i. As I have thrown together at the end of the preceding book some remarks on the Spartan policy and manners, the reader at the conclusion of this will find some relative to those of Athens.—*T.*

brother of Gorgus, prince of Salamis, a man very highly esteemed in the army. The first enemy's ship was taken by an Athenian; his name was Lycomedes, the son of Æschreas, and he obtained the fame he merited. Victory alternately inclined to both parties, when they were separated by the night. The Greeks returned to Artemisium, the Barbarians to Aphetæ, the issue of the contest being very different from what they had expected. Of those Greeks who were in the service of the king, Antidorus the Lemnian was the only one who went over to his countrymen. The Athenians, in consideration of his conduct, assigned him some lands at Salamis.

XII. The above engagement took place in the middle of the summer. When night approached, there fell a heavy storm of rain, attended with continued thunder from mount Pelion. The bodies of the dead, and the wrecks of the vessels floating to Aphetæ, were so involved among the prows of the ships, that the oars were hardly manageable; the forces on board were seized with a violent panic, expecting that they were certainly doomed to perish [10].

10 *Expecting every moment to perish.*]—An example of terror very much like this, occurs in 1 Samuel, xiv. 15. Though it must be acknowledged, that the confusion into which the

They had hardly recovered themselves from the effect of the first storm and shipwreck off Pelion, when that severe battle at sea had succeeded. As soon as this last terminated, they were attacked again by violent rains, a tempestuous sea, and continued thunder.

XIII. This night, however, proved still more disastrous, to those whose business it was to make a circuit round Eubœa. The storm fell upon them with the greater violence, as they were remote from land; and they perished in a miserable manner[11]. It commenced when they were standing

---

camp of the Philistines was thrown, is expressly attributed to a divine cause, and was attended with an earthquake.

"And there was trembling in the host, in the field and among the people; the garrison and the spoilers they also trembled, and the earth quaked; so it was a very great trembling.

"And the watchmen of Saul in Gibeah looked, and behold the multitude melted away, and they went on beating down one another."—*T.*

[11] *Miserable manner.*]—Το τελος σφι εγενετο αχαρι. Longinus, section xliii. p. 160, Pearce's edition, censures this expression of αχαρι, as mean and feeble. Pearce does not vindicate our author, neither does Toup; Larcher does, and with considerable effect. Boileau, he says, has rendered the word αχαρι, *peu agréable.* If this were admitted, the censure of Longinus would be reasonable enough; but in fact αχαρι is a very strong term, and signifies something in the highest degree shocking. Herodotus has applied συμφορη αχαριϛ, to the murder of a brother, book i. 42; and again

towards the shoals of Eubœa; ignorant of their course, they were driven before the wind, and dashed against the rocks*. It seemed a divine interposition, that a Persian fleet should thus be rendered equal, or at least not much superior to that of the Greeks. In this manner they were destroyed on the Eubœan sands.

XIV. The Barbarians at Aphetæ saw with joy the morning advance, and remained inactive, thinking it of no small moment, after their past calamities, to enjoy the present interval of tranquillity. At this juncture, the Greeks were reinforced by fifty-three Athenian ships. Animated by the arrival of their friends, they had still farther reason to exult in the fate of those Barbarians who had been ordered round Eubœa, not one of whom escaped the violence of the storm.

---

to the murder of a son, vii. 190. Antoninus Liberalis calls the crime of incest between a father and his daughter αχαρι και αθεσμιον εργον, an action horrible and offensive to all laws. A similar mode of speaking was in use amongst the Romans; every one knows that Virgil applied the word *illaudatus* to Busiris; and Horace calls Pythagoras, Non sordidus auctor naturæ verique.

* It is the fashion to call Herodotus credulous and superstitious; the truth is, he was a good and pious man, who believed in a particular Providence. If any thing saved Greece from its own factious spirit, and from the overwhelming forces of Xerxes, it surely was Providence, which, for reasons unknown to us, and for the further views which it had concerning Greece, thought it worth saving.—*T.*

The Greeks taking the opportunity of the same hour, towards the evening advanced boldly against the Cilicians; these they totally defeated, and at night returned again to Artemisium.

XV. On the third day, the leaders of the Barbarians did not wait for the Greeks to commence the attack; they advanced about mid-day, mutually encouraging each other: they could not bear to be insulted by so inferior a number, and they feared the indignation of Xerxes. It happened that these engagements by sea took place precisely at the same periods as the conflicts at Thermopylæ. The object of the sea fights was the Euripus, as that of the battles by land was the passage of Thermopylæ. The Greeks animated each other to prevent the entrance of the Barbarians into Greece; the Barbarians in like manner were emulous to disperse the Greeks, and become masters of these passages.

XVI. Whilst the forces of Xerxes advanced in order of battle, the Greeks remained on their station at Artemisium. The Barbarians, as if to render themselves secure of them all, enclosed them in a semicircle. The Greeks met them, and a battle ensued, which was fought on both sides on equal terms. The fleet of Xerxes, from the size and number of its vessels, was much perplexed by their falling foul of each other; they

fought however with firmness, and refused to give way, for they could not bear to be put to flight by so inferior a force. In the conflict many Grecian vessels perished, with a great number of men; but the loss of the Barbarians was much greater in both. They separated as by mutual consent*.

XVII. Of all those in the fleet of Xerxes, the Ægyptians performed the most important service; they distinguished themselves throughout, and took five Grecian vessels, with all their men. Of the confederates, the Athenians were most conspicuous; and of these the bravest was Clinias, son of Alcibiades[12]. His ship, which carried two hundred men, was equipped and manned at his own expence.

XVIII. The two fleets eagerly retired to their respective stations. The Greeks retained the wrecks of their vessels which were damaged,

---

* At the battle of Artemisium, the Athenians most distinguished themselves among the Greeks,—the Sidonians among the Barbarians. See Plutarch de sera numinis vindicta, where a fragment of Pindar, relating to this battle, is preserved.

[12] *Clinias, son of Alcibiades.*]—Upon this personage Valcnaer has a very elaborate and learned note; but I do not see that it contains any thing particularly claiming the attention of the English reader, except that he was the father of the famous Alcibiades, afterwards so celebrated in Greece.—*T.*

and possessed the bodies of their dead; but as they had suffered severely, and particularly the Athenians, the half of whose vessels were disabled, they deliberated about retiring to the remoter parts of Greece.

XIX. Themistocles had constantly believed, that if he could detach the Ionians and Carians[13] from the Barbarians, there would be no difficulty in overpowering the rest. Whilst the Eubœans were assembling their cattle on the sea-coast, he called the chiefs together, and informed them he had conceived a method, which he believed would deprive the king of the best of his allies. At this juncture he explained himself no farther, adding only his advice, that they should kill as much of the cattle of the Eubœans as they possibly could;

---

[13] *Carians.*]—Originally these people inhabited the islands lying near their own coast, and so much only of the Ægean sea as was called the Icarian, of which Icarus, the *island of Caria*, was the principal island; they were then named Leleges and Pelasgi.—See *Strabo*, l. xii. 661—572. Afterwards, removing to the continent, they seized upon a large tract of the sea-coast, as well as of the inland country: "This," says Strabo, "was the opinion most generally allowed."—Homer applies to the Carians the epithet of βαρβαροφωνων.—Strabo supposes them to have been so called, from ὡς κακως Ελληνιζοντες, and that at first a person was called barbarous, whose speech was thick and coarse, παχυστομος, though afterwards the word was extended to a more general sense.—Tibullus calls the Latin Turnus barbarous, l. ii. el. 5.

Jam tibi prædico, barbare Turne, necem. T.

for it was much better that their troops should enjoy them than those of the enemy. He recommended them to order their respective people to kindle a fire, and told them that he would be careful to select a proper opportunity for their departure to Greece. His advice was approved, the fires were kindled, and the cattle slain.

XX. The Eubœans, paying no manner of regard to the oracle of Bacis, had neither removed any of their effects, nor prepared any provision; which it certainly became those to do, who were menaced by a war: their neglect had rendered their affairs extremely critical. The oracle of Bacis [14] was to this effect:

"When barb'rous hosts with Byblus yoke the main,
"Then drive your cattle from Eubœa's plain."

As they made no use of this declaration, either in their present evils or to guard against the future, they might naturally expect the worst.

---

[14] *The oracle of Bacis.*]—There were three soothsayers of this name; the most ancient was of Eleus in Bœotia, the second of Athens, and the third of Caphy in Arcadia. This last was also called Cydus and Aletes, and wonderful things are related of him by Theopompus.—*Larcher.*

See the Peace of Aristophanes, where the poet speaks with a sneer of these oracles of Bacis.

This is very true, says Herodotus; that is, if the nymphs have not deluded Bacis, and if Bacis is not deluded by mortals.

XXI. At this period there arrived a spy from Trachis; there was one also at Artemisium, whose name was Polyas, a native of Anticyra. He had a swift vessel with oars constantly in readiness, and was directed to communicate, to those at Thermopylæ, the event of any engagement which might take place at sea. There was also with Leonidas an Athenian named Abronychus, the son of Lysicles, who was prepared with a thirty-oared vessel to give immediate information to those at Artemisium of whatever might happen to the land forces. This man arrived at Artemisium, and informed the Greeks of what had befallen Leonidas and his party. On receiving his intelligence, they thought it expedient not to defer their departure, but to separate in the order in which they were stationed, the Corinthians first, the Athenians last.

XXII. Themistocles[15], selecting the swiftest of the Athenian vessels, went with them to a watering place, and there engraved upon the rocks these words, which the Ionians, coming

---

[15] *Themistocles.*]—Bartelemy, in his Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, divides the Athenian history into three distinct intervals, which he calls the commencement, the progress, and the fall, of that empire. The first he names the age of Solon, or of the laws; the second, the age of Themistocles, and Aristides, or of glory; the third, the age of Pericles, or of luxury and the arts.—*T.*

the next day to Artemisium, perused: "Men of "Ionia, in fighting against your ancestors, and "endeavouring to reduce Greece to servitude, "you are guilty of injustice: take, therefore, an "active part in our behalf; if this be impracti- "cable, retire yourselves from the contest, and "prevail on the Carians to do the same. If you "can comply with neither of these requisitions, "and are so bound by necessity that you can- "not openly revolt, when the conflict begins, re- "tire; remembering that you are descended from "ourselves, and that the first occasion of our "dispute with the Barbarians originated with "you." Themistocles, in writing the above, had, as I should suppose, two objects in view. If what he said were concealed from the king, the Ionians might be induced to go over to the Greeks; and if Xerxes should know it, it might incline him to distrust the Ionians, and employ them no more by sea.

XXIII. When Themistocles had written the above, a man of Histiæa hastened in a small vessel to inform the Barbarians that the Greeks had fled from Artemisium. Distrusting the intelligence, they ordered the man into close custody, and sent some swift vessels to ascertain the truth. These confirmed the report; and as soon as the sun rose, the whole fleet in a body sailed to Artemisium; remaining here till mid-day, they

proceeded to Histiæa: they then took possession of the city of the Histiæans, and overran part of Hellopia[16], and all the coast of Histiæotis.

XXIV. Whilst his fleet continued at Histiæotis, Xerxes, having prepared what he intended concerning the dead, sent to them a herald. The preparations were these: Twenty thousand men had been slain at Thermopylæ, of these one thousand were left on the field, the rest were buried in pits sunk for the purpose; these were afterwards filled up, and covered with leaves, to prevent their being perceived by the fleet. The herald, on his arrival at Histiæa, assembled the forces, and thus addressed them: "Xerxes the "king, O allies, permits whoever chooses it to "leave his post, and see in what manner he con-"tends with those foolish men, who had hoped to "overcome him."

XXV. Immediately on this declaration, scarce a boat remained behind, so many were eager to see the spectacle. Coming to the spot, they beheld the bodies of the dead. Though a number

---

16 *Hellopia.*]—The whole island of Eubœa was anciently called Helapia. I understand that the Hebrew word which we pronounce Hellap, means of a clear countenance; for this reason the people round Dodona were called Elli and Ellopes, and their country also Ellopia.—*T.*

of Helots[17] were among them, they supposed that all whom they saw were Lacedæmonians and Thespians. This subterfuge of Xerxes did not deceive those who beheld it; it could not fail of appearing exceedingly ridiculous, to see a thousand Persian bodies on the field, and four thousand Greeks crowded together on one spot. After a whole day had been thus employed, the troops returned on the following one to the fleet at Histiæa, and Xerxes with his army proceeded on their march.

XXVI. A small number of Arcadians deserted * to the Persian army: they were destitute of provisions, and wished to be employed. Being introduced to the royal presence, and interrogated by several Persians, and by one in particular, concerning the Greeks, and how they were then employed: "At present," they replied, "they "are celebrating the Olympic games, and be- "holding gymnastic and equestrian exercises."

---

[17] *Helots.*]—I have in a preceding note spoken of the Helots; but for more particulars concerning them, I beg leave to refer the reader to a Dissertation on the History and servitude of the Helots, by M. Capperonier, published in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.—*T.*

* No author, says Larcher, has specified who were the people of Arcadia that deserted to the Persians. From a passage in Vitruvius, book i. c. 1. they appear to have been those of Carga.—See Larcher's note.

Being a second time asked what was the prize for which they contended, they answered, "An "olive garland." On this occasion Tigranes [18], the son of Artabanus, having expressed himself in a manner which proved great generosity of soul, was accused by the king of cowardice. Hearing that the prize was not money, but a garland, he exclaimed before them all—"What must those "men be, O Mardonius, against whom you are "conducting us, who contend not for wealth, "but for virtue?"

XXVII. After the above calamity at Thermopylæ, the Thessalians sent a herald to the Phoceans, with whom they had before been at enmity [19],

---

[18] *Tigranes.*]—Many learned men are of opinion, that this name is derived from the Togarmah of Scripture, and given to the chiefs of that house; see Ezekiel, xxxviii. 6.—"Togarmah of the north quarters, and all his bands." Josephus writes Togarmah's name, Θυγραμμης, Thygrammis, which some copies render Thygran, neither of them very unlike Tigranes.—*T.*

[19] *Enmity.*]—The Thessalians, being natives of Thesprotia, had seized Æolia, afterwards called Thessaly, whence they attempted to penetrate into Phocea, by the passage of Thermopylæ; but the Phoceans in this place constructed a wall, which checked their incursions. This was the source of the hatred which these people bore each other, and which was carried to such extremities, that the Thessalians in one day cut the throats of all the magistrates and princes of the Phoceans, who, in return, beat to death two hundred and fifty hostages they had in their hands.—*Larcher.*

but particularly so after their last overthrow. Some years antecedent to this expedition of the king, the Thessalians in a body, in conjunction with their allies, had attacked the Phoceans, but had been driven back and roughly handled. The Phoceans, being surrounded at Parnassus, happened to have with them Tellias[20] of Eleum, the

[20] *Tellias.*]—He was the chief of the family of the Telliadæ, in which the art of divination was hereditary. In gratitude for the victory which they obtained through his means, the Phoceans made a statue of Tellias, which they sent to Delphi, with those of the chiefs and heroes of their country. —*Larcher.*

Compare the account here given by Herodotus with that of Pausanias, l. x. c. i. and the Stratagemata of Polyænus, l. vi. c. 18.—See also Plutarch on the Virtues of Women.

To revenge the above-mentioned murder of their hostages, the Thessalians marched against the Phoceans, determining to spare no men that were of age, and to sell the women and children for slaves. Diaphantus, governor of Phocis, on hearing this, persuaded his countrymen to go and meet the Thessalians, and to collect their women and children in one place, round whom they were to pile combustible materials, and to place a watch, who, if the Phoceans should be defeated, were to set fire to the pile. To this, one person objected, saying, the women ought to be consulted on the business. The women hearing of this, assembled together, and not only agreed to it but highly applauded Diaphantus for proposing it. It is also said, that the children also met together, and resolved on the same thing. The Phoceans afterwards engaging the enemy at Cleon, a place in Hyampolis, were victorious. The Greeks called this resolution of the Phocean women *aponoia*, desperation. The greatest feast of the Phoceans is that which they celebrated at Hyampolis, and called *Elaphebolia*, in commemoration of this victory.

soothsayer, at whose instigation they concerted the following stratagem: They selected six hundred of their bravest men, whose persons and arms they made white with chalk; they thus sent them against the Thessalians, under cover of the night, commanding them to put every one to death who was not whited like themselves. The Thessalian out-posts, who first saw them, conceived them to be something supernatural. These communicated their panic to the body of the army, in consequence of which the Phoceans slew four thousand, and carried away their shields: half of these shields were consecrated at Abas, and half at Delphi. A tenth part of the money which resulted from this victory, was applied to erect the large statues which are to be seen round the tripod before the temple at Delphi: an equal number were erected at Abas.

XXVIII. The Phoceans thus treated the Thessalian foot, by whom they had been surrounded: their horse, which had made incursions into their country, they effectually destroyed. At the entrance to Phocis near Hyampolis they sunk a deep trench, into which having thrown a number of empty casks, they covered them with earth to the level of the common ground. They then waited to receive the attack of the Thessalians: these advancing, as if to capture the Phoceans, fell in

among the casks, by which the legs of their horses were broken *.

XXIX. These two disasters had so much exasperated the Thessalians, that they sent a herald to say thus to the Phoceans: "As you are now, "O Phoceans, rendered wiser by experience, it "becomes you to acknowledge yourselves our in- "feriors. When we formerly thought it consist- "ent to be united with the Greeks, we were al- "ways superior to you: we have now so much "influence with the Barbarians, that it is in our "power to strip you of your country, and reduce "you to slavery. We are nevertheless willing to "forget past injuries, provided you will pay us "fifty talents: on these terms we engage to avert "the evils which threaten your country."

XXX. Such was the application of the Thessalians to the Phoceans, who alone, of all the people of this district, did not side with the Medes, and for no other reason, as far as I am able to conjecture, than their hatred of the Thessalians. If the Thessalians had favoured the Greeks, the Phoceans I believe would have at-

* If the reader will consult Pausanias, Plato, and indeed various other ancient writers, he will find that the Thessalian cavalry were in high reputation.

tached themselves to the Medes. The Phoceans in reply refused to give the money: they had the same opportunity, they added, of uniting with the Medes, as the Thessalians, if they wished to change their sentiments; but they expressed themselves unalterably reluctant to desert the cause of Greece.

XXXI. This answer of the Phoceans so irritated the people of Thessaly, that they offered themselves as guides to the Barbarian army, which they conducted from Trachis to Doris. The passage of this district is not more than thirty stadia in extent, it is situate betwixt Melias and Phocis, and was before called Dryopis. The Dorians are the original and principal people of the Peloponnese. The Barbarians penetrated into Doria, but without committing any devastations. The Thessalians did not wish them to commit any violence here, and indeed the inhabitants had embraced the interests of the Medes.

XXXII. The Barbarians passed from Doris into Phocis, but did not make themselves masters of the persons of the inhabitants. Of these, some had taken refuge on the summits of Parnassus[21],

---

[21] *Parnassus.*]—This celebrated mountain had a forked summit with two vertices; of these one was sacred to

at a place called Tithorea, near the city Neon, capable of containing a great number of people. A greater number had fled to Amphissa, a town of the Ozolæ Locrians, beyond the plain of Crisæum. The Barbarians effectually over-ran Phocis, to which the Thessalians conducted them; whatever they found they destroyed with fire and sword, and both the cities and sacred temples were burned.

Apollo, the other to Bacchus.—See Jodrell on Euripides, p. 19. Sir George Wheler, in his Travels into Greece, has given an engraving of this circumstance, so often celebrated by the Greek and the Roman poets; and he observes, that the high cliffs seem to end in two points from the town of Delphi. He also adds, that there is a fountain with a very plentiful source of water continually flowing out from a cavity close to this mountain, which, by the marble steps leading to it, should be the fountain Castalia. Lucan observes, that at the time of the deluge Parnassus was the only mountain, and that too with one of its tops only, which projected above the water, l. v. 75.

> Hoc solum fluctu terras mergente cacumen
> Eminuit, pontoque fuit discrimen et astris.

Which lines are thus diffusely rendered by Rowe:

> When o'er the world the deluge wide was spread,
> This only mountain rear'd its lofty head;
> One rising rock preserv'd, a bound was given
> Between the vasty deep and ambient heaven.
>
> *L.* v. *ver.* 17.

Sir George Wheler says, "I esteem this mountain not only the highest in all Greece, but one of the highest in all the world, and not inferior to mount Cenis among the Alps."

XXXIII. Proceeding along the river Cephissus, they extended their violence throughout Phocis. On one side they burned the city Drymon, on the other Charadra, Erochos, Tethronium, Amphicæa, Neon [22], Pedieas, Triteas, Elatea, Hyampolis, Parapotamios, and Abas. At this last place is an edifice sacred to Apollo, abounding in wealth, and full of various treasures [23] and offerings. Here at that time was an oracle, as indeed there is at present. Having plundered this temple, they set it on fire. They pursued the Phoceans, and overtook some of them near the mountains; many of their female captives died, from the great numbers who committed violence on their persons.

XXXIV. Passing the Parapotamians, they came to the Paropeans [24]. At this place the army was divided into two bodies, of which the one most numerous and powerful proceeded towards Athens, entering Bœotia through the Orchome-

---

22 *Neon.*]—M. Larcher thinks, and with great reason, that the Neon in this passage should be read Cleon.

23 *Treasures.*]—As the greater part of the Grecian cities sent their wealth to Delphi, it is very probable, says M. Larcher, that those of Phocis deposited theirs at Abas.

24 *Paropeans.*]—D'Anville, in his Geography, reverses this order, and places the Paropeans before the Parapotamians.

nian territories. The Bœotians in general had taken part with the Medes. Alexander, with the view of preserving the Bœotian cities, and of convincing Xerxes that the nation were really attached to him, had stationed a Macedonian detachment in each. This was the line of march pursued by one part of the Barbarians.

XXXV. The other division, keeping Parnassus to the right, advanced under the conduct of their guides to the temple of Delphi. Whatever they met in their march belonging to the Phocæans, they totally laid waste, burning the towns of the Paropeans, Daulians, and Æolians. They proceeded in this direction, after separating from the main army, with the view of plundering the temple of Delphi, and of presenting its treasures to the king. I have been informed that Xerxes had a more intimate knowledge of the treasures which this temple contained, than of those which he had left in his own palace; many having made it their business to inform him of its contents, and more particularly of the offerings of Crœsus, the son of Alyattes.

XXXVI. The Delphians, on hearing this, were struck with the greatest consternation, and, applying to the oracle, desired to be instructed whether they should bury the sacred treasures in the earth, or remove them to some other place. They were

ordered not to remove them, as the deity was able to protect what belonged to him; their sole care therefore was employed about themselves, and they immediately removed their wives and children into Achaia. Of the people the greater part fled to the summits of Parnassus, and to the Corycian cave[25]; others took refuge at Amphissa in Lo-

---

[25] *Corycian cave.*]—This was at the base of mount Corycus, and said by Pausanias to have been of vast extent: it was sacred to the Muses, who from thence were called Nymphæ Corycides. See Ovid, Met. i. 320.

Corycidas nymphas et numina montis adorant.

It should seem, that in the countries of the East subterraneous caves were very frequent, and used by shepherds to sleep in, or as folds for their flocks in the evening. The Syrian coast, or rather the mountains on this coast, are remarkable for the number of caves in them. See *Harmer's Observations on Passages of Scripture*, vol. iii. p. 61.

We find in the History of the Croisades, by the archbishop of Tyre, that Baldwin the First presented himself, with some troops which he had got together, before Ascalon; that the citizens were afraid to venture out to fight with him. Upon which, finding it would be to no advantage to continue there, he ranged about the plains between the mountains and the sea, and found villages whose inhabitants, having left their houses, had retired with their wives and children, their flocks and herds, into *subterraneous caves.*

See also 1 Samuel, xiii. 11.

"And both of them discovered themselves unto the garrison of the Philistines; and the Philistines said, Behold, the Hebrews come forth out of the *holes* where they had hid themselves."

Again—Judges, vi. 2.

"And

cria. Excepting by sixty men, with the principal priest, the city of Delphi was entirely deserted.

XXXVII. When the Barbarians approached, and were in sight of the temple, the prophet, whose name was Aceratus; observed that the sacred arms, which had ever been preserved in the sanctuary, and which it was impious to touch, were removed[26] to the outward front of the temple; he hastened to acquaint those Delphians who remained of the prodigy. The enemy continued to advance; and when they came to the temple of Minerva Pronea, more portentous appearances were seen. It might be thought suffi-

---

"And because of the Midianites, the children of Israel made them the *dens* which are in the mountains, and *caves*, and strong holds."—*T.*

[26] *Were removed.*]—A little before the battle of Leuctra, it was said that the temples opened of themselves, and that the arms which were in the temple of Hercules disappeared, as if Hercules himself was gone to be present at that engagement. But many did not scruple to say, that these miracles were contrived by the magistrates.—*Xenophon.*

Julius Obsequens, in his enumeration of the Roman prodigies, says, that A. U. 652. Hastæ Martis in regia sua sponte motæ—The spears of Mars, preserved in the palace, moved of their own accord. Amongst the prognostics which preceded the assassination of Cæsar, Virgil mentions the sound of arms heard all over Germany.

Armorum sonitum toto Germania cœlo
Audiit. *T.*

ciently wonderful, that the arms should spontaneously have removed themselves to the outward part of the temple; but what afterwards happened was yet more astonishing. As the Barbarians drew near the temple of Minerva Pronea, a storm of thunder burst upon their heads; two immense fragments of rock [27] were separated from the tops of Parnassus, which, rolling down with a horrid noise, destroyed a vast multitude. At the same time there proceeded from the shrine of the goddess, loud and martial shouts.

XXXVIII. This accumulation of prodigies impressed so great a terror on the Barbarians,

---

[27] *Fragments of rock.*]—

The double head
Of tall Parnassus reeling from the crag
Unloos'd two fragments: mountainous in bulk
They roll to Delphi, with a crashing sound
Like thunder nigh, whose burst of ruin strikes
The shatter'd ear with horror.—
They move, and passing by Minerva's grove,
Two monuments of terror see.—There stopp'd
The massy fragments from Parnassus rent;
An act of nature, by some latent cause
Disturb'd. Tremendous o'er Barbarian ranks
The ruins down the sacred way had roll'd,
Leaving its surface horrible to sight,
Such as might startle war's remorseless god,
And shake his heart of adamant. *Athenaid.*

The same events are recorded by Diodorus Siculus, l. xi. & c. 4.

that they fled in confusion. The Delphians, perceiving this[38], descended, and slew a great number. They who escaped, fled to Bœotia; these, as I have been informed, related that besides the above prodigies, they saw also two armed beings of more than human size, who pursued and slaughtered them.

XXXIX. The Delphians say that these two were heroes, and natives of the country, their names Phylacus and Autonous, to whom some buildings near the temple had been consecrated. That of Phylacus, stands on the public road near the temple of Minerva Pronea; that of Autonous, near Castalia, beneath the Hyampean vertex. The rocky fragments which fell from Parnassus have been preserved within my remembrance near the temple of Minerva Pronea, where they first fixed themselves, after rolling through the Barbarian ranks. In this manner was the enemy obliged to retreat from the temple.

XL. The Grecian fleet, after their departure from Artemisium, at the request of the Athe-

---

[38] *Perceiving this.*]—

- - - The Delphian race,
By fear so lately to the neighbouring hills
And caves restrain'd, forsake their shelt'ring holds;
In clusters rushing on the foes dismay'd,
Accomplish their defeat. *Athenaid.*

nians, came to an anchor at Salamis. The motive of the Athenians in soliciting this, was to have the opportunity of removing their wives and families from Attica, as well as to deliberate upon what measures they should pursue. To this also they were farther induced, because things had hitherto happened contrary to their expectations. They had hoped that the people of the Peloponnese, in one collected body, would wait the approach of the Barbarians in Bœotia. Instead of which, they learned that they were satisfied with fortifying the isthmus of the Peloponnese with a wall, careful of their own security alone. The Athenians were induced, in consequence of this intelligence, to entreat the allies to station themselves at Salamis.

XLI. Whilst the rest of the allies continued with the fleet, the Athenians returned to their country, where they proclaimed by a herald [29], that every Athenian was to preserve his family and effects by the best means in his power. The greater number took refuge at Trœzene, others fled to Ægina, and some to Salamis, each being anxious to save what was dear to him, and

---

[29] *By a herald.*]—It was criminal at Athens to abandon their country in time of danger, or even to remove their wives and children from the perils which impended, till permission was given by a public proclamation.—*Larcher.*

to comply with the injunctions of the oracle. It is asserted by the Athenians, that there is a large serpent[30] in the temple of the citadel, which continually defends it. Of this they have such an entire conviction, that they offer to it every month cakes of honey: these had before always been regularly consumed, at this juncture they were untouched[31]. The priestess having made this incident known, the Athenians still more precipitately deserted the city, believing that their goddess had abandoned the citadel. Removing, therefore, all their effects, they hastened to join the fleet.

XLII. When it was generally known that those who had left Artemisium, had taken their station at Salamis, all the vessels which were at Trœzene hastened to join them; orders having been previously issued to assemble at Pogon and Trœzene. A much larger fleet was now got together than had before fought at Artemisium, and they were manned by a greater number of different nations. Eurybiades, the son of Eury-

---

30 *Large serpent.*]—See Bryant on the subject of serpent-worship, vol. i. p. 476, &c. The Athenians were esteemed Serpentigenæ, and they had a tradition that the chief guardian of their Acropolis was a serpent, &c.—*T.*

31 *Untouched.*]—It appears that Themistocles was at the bottom of all these pretended miracles, and of this in particular. See his Life, as given by Plutarch.

clidas, who had commanded at Artemisium, was the leader also on the present occasion, though not of the blood royal. The vessels of the Athenians were the most numerous, and the best sailers.

XLIII. The fleet was thus composed: of the people of the Peloponnese, the Lacedæmonians furnished sixteen vessels, the Corinthians the same number as at Artemisium, the Sicyonians fifteen, the Epidaurians ten, the Trœzenians five, the Hermionians three. All these, except the Hermionians, were Dorians and Macedonians, coming from Erineus, Pindus, and Dryopis. The Hermionians are from Dryopis, they had formerly been expelled by Hercules and the Melians of the district now called Doris.—These were the forces from the Peloponnese.

XLIV. Of those situated upon the exterior continent, the Athenians alone furnished one hundred and eighty vessels, a number equal to all the rest. The Platæans were not present at the battle of Salamis, and for this reason: when the Greeks departing from Artemisium touched at Chalcis, the Platæans, landing on the opposite coast of Bœotia, employed themselves in removing their families and effects, in doing which they were left behind. The Athenians were Pelasgi, and called Cranai, when that region now named

Greece was possessed by the Pelasgi: under Cecrops[32] they took the name of Cecropidæ. The title of Athenians was given them when Erectheus succeeded to the throne: their name of Ionians[33] was derived from Ion, who had been general of the Athenian forces.

---

[32] *Cecrops.*]—Strabo cites Hecatæus, who said that Peloponnesus was inhabited by the Barbari before it was possessed by the Greeks; and adds, that almost all Greece was anciently the seat of this strange people. Among other proofs he alleges several names of persons, such as Cecrops, Codrus, &c. which he says evidently prove a foreign language; το βαρβαρον εμφαινεται.

Thucydides, l. i. at the beginning, with the Scholia, says that the Ionians were called Pelargi or Pelasgi. The name Pelargus is usually taken for a *saunterer*, πλανητικος; this shews that it was originally used as a word of reproach. Strabo evidently derives the wandering temper of the Pelargi, or Pelasgi, from the Greek αργος, explaining the word πολυπλανον by ταχυ προς ανασταστις, quick in changing their settlements.—*T.*

Ægeus of Athens, according to Androtion, was of the serpent breed; and the first king of the country is said to have been Δρακων, a dragon. Others make Cecrops the first who reigned; he is said to have been of a twofold nature, being formed with the body of a man, blended with that of a serpent. Diodorus says, that this was a circumstance deemed by the Athenians inexplicable, yet he labours to explain it by representing Cecrops as half a man and half a brute, &c. —*Bryant*, vol. i. 484, &c.

[33] *Ionians.*]—See Genesis, x. 4.

"And the sons of Javan, Elishah, and Tarshish, and Chittim, and Dodanim."

Bochart places Javan and his sons in Europe, assigning to the father, Greece; to Elisha, Peloponnesus; to Tarshish,

XLV. The Megareans supplied the same number of vessels as at Artemisium. The Ampraciotæ brought a reinforcement of seven ships; the Leucadii, a Dorian nation, originally from Corinth, furnished three.

XLVI. Of the people of the islands, the Æginetæ provided thirty vessels; they had others also, but these were employed in defending their coasts: the thirty, in which they fought at Salamis, were the best equipped, and the swiftest sailers. The Æginetæ are Dorians, originally of Epidaurus, and their island was formerly called Œnone. Next to this people, the Chalcidians, as at Artemisium, supplied twenty ships, the Eretrians seven; these are Ionians. An equal number was furnished by the people of Ceos, who also are Ionians of Athenian descent. The Naxians brought four vessels: these, with the rest of the islanders, had been desired by the majority of their countrymen to take part with the Medes, but they had gone over to the Greeks, by the persuasion of Democritus, a man of considerable distinction, and at that time trierarch. The Naxians also are Ionians, and of Athenian origin. The Styreans appeared with the same

---

Tartessus in Spain; to Chittim, Latium in Italy; and to Dodanim, a part of France, l. iii. c. 7.—Javan he considers as the prince of Ionia.—*T.*

number of ships as at Artemisium; the Cythnians[34] brought only one, and that of fifty oars: both these last people are Dryopians. The allies were farther assisted by the Seriphians, Siphnians, and Melians, who alone, of the islanders, had refused to render the Barbarian earth and water.

XLVII. All these different people who inhabit the region betwixt the Thesproti and the river Acheron[35], appeared as confederates in the war.

---

[34] *Cythnians.*]—These islanders were of no great strength or importance. "If," says Demosthenes, "I considered you as like the Siphnians, Cythnians, or such people, I would not recommend you to adopt sentiments so elevated."—*Larcher.*

[35] *Acheron.*]—Here Hercules descended into hell, and hither he brought back with him the dog Cerberus, whose foam overspread the country with aconitum. Adonis was celebrated for having the liberty of descending to Acheron, or the infernal regions, and of returning again at certain seasons. See Theocritus, Idyl. iii. 48. with Scholia; see also Theoc. Id. xv. 135; where Adonis is said to be the only hero who had this privilege:

Ἡμιθεων ὡς φαντι μονωτατος.

The descent into hell is generally understood to be a form of admission into the mysteries, for all those more especially who endeavoured to prove themselves the most illustrious benefactors to mankind. Of these mysteries the Ægyptians may perhaps be esteemed the original authors; and that the descent of their king Rhampsinitus to the infernal regions is older than that of Hercules. Homer, in the 10th Od. enu-

The Thesproti are contiguous both to the Ampraciotæ and Leucadii, who came on this occasion from the remotest limits of Greece. Of the nations still farther distant, the Crotoniatæ alone, with one vessel[36], assisted Greece in its danger:

---

merates Acheron among the rivers of hell, saying that the Phlegethon and Cocytus flow into it, εις Αχερουτα ῥεουσι. Pope incorrectly renders this the flaming gulph of Acheron; Homer says no such thing.—*T.*

[36] *One vessel.*]—Pausanias says that this vessel was provided and manned at the private expence of Phayllus; which induces Valcnaer to believe that the text of Herodotus is in this place corrupt, and that instead of νηι μιῃ we should read οικηϊῃ νηϊ. Plutarch also, in his Life of Alexander, says, that the Crotoniatæ were permitted to plunder the Persians, out of respect to Phayllus, who equipped a vessel at his own expence to assist the Greeks at Salamis.

There was a statue at Delphi of this Phayllus.

I find mention made of Phayllus twice in Aristophanes; once in the Acharnenses, 210.

—— ον' ερω φερων
Ανθρακων φορτιον
Ηκολουθουν Φαυλλῳ τρεχων.

In the Scholiast to which passage we are told that there were others of this name. Concerning this there is a Greek epigram, which says he could leap fifty-five feet, and throw the discus ninety-five.

Πεντ' επι πεντηκοντα ποδας πηδησε Φαϋλλος,
Διεσκευσεν δ' εκατον πεντ' απολειπομενων.

Which I have somewhere seen thus rendered in Latin:

Saltum ad quinque pedes quinquagintaque Phayllus,
Discum ad centum egit quinque minus pedibus.

He is again mentioned in the Vespæ, 1201, for his swiftness in the course.—*T.*

it was commanded by Phayllus, a man who had been three times victorious[37] at the Pythian games.—The Crotoniatæ are of Achæan origin.

XLVIII. The allies in general furnished triremes for the service: the Melians, Siphnians, and Seriphians, brought vessels of fifty oars; the Melians two, the Siphnians and Seriphians one each. The Melians are of Spartan extraction[38]: the Siphnians and Seriphians are Ionians, and descended from the Athenians. Without taking into the account these vessels of fifty oars, the fleet consisted of three hundred and seventy-eight ships.

XLIX. When all these different nations were assembled at Salamis, a council was called of their leaders. At the suggestion of Eurybiades, it was proposed that each should deliver his opinion, what place of those which they yet pos-

---

37 *Three times victorious.*]—Pausanias says, that he was twice victorious in the contests of the Pentathlon, and once in those of the Stadium.

38 *Spartan extraction.*]—Thucydides, book v. says the same thing; Μηλιοι Λακεδαιμονιων μεν εισιν αποικοι, the Melians are a Lacedæmonian colony: so also does Xenophon, Hist. Græc. l. ii. The particulars of their migration are related at length by Plutarch, in his Treatise of the Virtues of Women, where he speaks of the Tyrrhene women.—*T.*

sessed, would be most proper for a naval engagement. Attica was considered as totally lost, and the object of their deliberation was the rest of Greece. It seemed to be the opinion of the majority, that they should sail to the isthmus, and risk a battle in the vicinity of the Peloponnese; for if, it was urged, a defeat should be the issue of a contest at Salamis, they would be exposed to a siege on the island, without the prospect of relief; but from the isthmus they might easily retire to their respective countries.

L. Whilst the leaders were revolving this matter, a messenger arrived from Athens, to inform them that the Barbarian had penetrated Attica, and was burning all before him. The forces under Xerxes, in their passage through Bœotia, had set fire to the city of the Thespians, who had retired to the Peloponnese. They had also burned the city of the Platæans, and proceeding onwards, were now about to ravage Athens[39]. They had

---

[39] *Ravage Athens.*]—The following lines, describing the advance of Xerxes to Athens, are highly animated and poetical:

Her olive groves now Attica display'd;
The fields where Ceres first her gifts bestow'd,
The rocks whose marble crevices the bees
With sweetness stor'd; unparallel'd in art
Rose structures growing on the stranger's eye
Where'er

so treated Thespia and Platæa, because informed by the Thebans that these places were hostile to them.

LI. After passing the Hellespont, the Barbarians had remained a month* in its vicinity, before they advanced: three more were employed in their march to Attica, where they arrived when Calliades was chief magistrate. They found the city deserted; an inconsiderable number remained in the temple, with the treasurers[40] of the temple, and a few of the meaner sort, who, with a pallisade of wood, attempted to prevent the approach of the enemy to the citadel. These had not gone to Salamis, being deterred partly by their indigence, and partly from their confidence in the declaration of the oracle, that a wall

---

Where'er it roam'd delighted. On like Death,
From his pale courser scatt'ring waste around,
The regal homicide of nations pass'd,
Unchaining all the furies of revenge
On this devoted country, &c. *Athenaid.*

* See book vii. c. 56.

This passage, as Larcher observes, has not the author's usual perspicuity.

40 *Treasurers.*]—See Suidas, at the word Ταμιαι; these, he tells us, were Athenian magistrates, and were ten in number: the shrine of Minerva, of Victory, with their ornaments and wealth, were delivered to them in the presence of the senate.

of wood would prove invincible. This they referred not to the ships, but to the defence of wood, which on this occasion they had formed.

LII. The Persians encamped on the hill opposite the citadel, which the Athenians call the hill of Mars[41], and thus commenced their attack: they shot against the intrenchment of wood arrows wrapped in tow, and set on fire. The Athenians, although reduced to the last extremity, and involved in the fire which had caught their barricade, obstinately refused to listen to conditions, and would not hear the Pisistratidæ, who on certain terms invited them to surrender. They resisted to the last, and when the Persians were just about to enter, they rolled down upon them stones of an immense size. Xerxes, not

---

[41] *Hill of Mars.*]—On this place was held the celebrated court of the Areopagus, of which, as it bore so high a rank in the constitution of the Athenian republic, the following succinct account from Gillies may be acceptable.

"The court of the Areopagus, originally entrusted with the criminal jurisdiction, assumed an extensive power in regulating the behaviour and manners of the citizens: it consisted only of such magistrates as had discharged with approbation the duties of their respective offices. The members were named for life, and as from the nature of the institution they were generally persons of a mature age, of an extensive experience, and who having already attained the aim, had seen the vanity of ambition, they were well qualified to restrain the impetuous passions of the multitude, and to stem the torrent of popular phrenzy."

able to force the place, was for a long time exceedingly perplexed.

LIII. In the midst of their embarrassment the Barbarians discovered a resource: indeed the oracle had declared, that whatever the Athenians possessed on the continent, should be reduced to the power of the Persians. In the front of the citadel, but behind the gates and the regular ascent, there was a cragged and unguarded pass, by which it was not thought possible that any man could force his way. Here, however, some of the enemy mounted, near the temple of Aglauros[42], the daughter of Cecrops. As soon as the Athenians discovered them, part threw themselves over the wall and were killed, others retired into the building. The Persians who entered, forced their way to the gates, threw them open, and put the suppliants to death who had there taken refuge: they afterwards plundered and set fire to the citadel.

LIV. As soon as Xerxes found himself entire

---

[42] *Aglauros.*]—This word is written Aglauros in Pausanias, l. i. c. 18; in Ovid. Met. l. ii. 739.

Aglauros lævum, medium possederat Herse.

Larcher nevertheless, on the authorities of Apollodorus and of Stephen of Byzantium, writes it Agraulos; see his elaborate note.

master of Athens, he sent a horseman to Susa, to inform Artabanus of his success. On the following day, he called together the Athenian exiles who were with him, and ordered them to go to the citadel, and there offer sacrifice, according to the custom of their country. He was probably induced to this from some nocturnal vision, or from some compunction, on account of his having burned the temple. The exiles did as they were commanded.

LV. I will explain my reason for introducing this circumstance:—There is in the citadel, a temple sacred to Erectheus [43], who is said to have been the offspring of the earth: in this, is an

---

[43] *Erectheus.*]—See book v. c. 82. Not only Erectheus called himself the offspring of the earth, but as I have before shewn, all the Athenians. In his temple were three altars, on the first of which they sacrificed to Neptune and Erectheus, from which Neptune was called Erecthean. See Lycophron, v. 158.

Erectheus was deified, because in a contest with Eumolpus, prince of Thrace, he was told by the oracle that if he would sacrifice his daughter before he engaged the enemy, he should be victorious; he did so, and succeeded. See the story related, *Lycurg. contra Leocrat.*—Taylor's edition, 217.

Concerning his being deemed an offspring of the earth, Farnaby, on this kind of fortuitous generation, is worth consulting, in his note on Ovid. Met. i. 416.

Pausanias, in his Atticis, c. xxvii. mentions two large figures in brass in a fighting attitude, supposed to represent Erectheus, and Immaradus, son of Eumolpus.—*T.*

olive[44] and a sea[45], believed to have been placed there by Neptune and Minerva, in testimony of

---

[44] *An olive.*]—This, according to Pliny, was said to exist in his time; it was in the citadel: and because goats destroy the olive and make it barren, it was forbidden to bring goats near the citadel, except once a year for the necessary sacrifice.—*Larcher.*

Some oil made of this olive which was sacred to Minerva, was given as a reward to those who conquered in the Panathenæa. See the Scholiast to the Nubes of Aristophanes, and to the 10 Nem. Ode of Pindar, ver. 65. See a whole oration of Lysias; *υπερ του σηκου.*—*T.*

[45] *A sea.*]—This was a cistern, into which, by a subterraneous canal, sea-water was conducted.

"In itself," says Pausanias, "there is nothing remarkable; but what deserves to be related is, that when the south wind blows, a noise is heard like that of agitated waves; and upon the stone is seen the figure of a trident, which is said to be a testimony of the dispute betwixt Minerva and Neptune concerning Attica."—See *Pausanias*, l. i. c. 26.

The same thing was also said to be in the temple of Neptune Hippias, near Mantinea, and at Mylase, a town of Caria, although the gate of this last place was eighty furlongs from the sea, and Mantinea was so far inland, that the water of the sea could not come there unless by a miracle.—*Larcher.*

The word sea is used in the same manner for a large cistern by our interpreters of the Bible; see 2 Kings, xxv. 13.

"And the pillars of brass that were in the house of the Lord, and the bases, and the *brazen sea* that were in the house of the Lord, did the Chaldees break in pieces, and carried the brass of them to Babylon."

This sea is described, 1 Kings, vii. 23, to be ten cubits from one brim to the other. The Greek word in Herodotus and in the Septuagint, is *θαλασσα*. This meaning of the

their dispute[46] concerning this country: this olive the Barbarians had burned with the temple. The Athenians, who had been sent by the king to perform the ceremonies of their religion, which was two days after the place had been burned, observed that this olive had put forth a new shoot, a cubit[47] in length.

LVI. When the Greeks at Salamis heard what had befallen the citadel of Athens, they were seized with consternation; many of the leaders, without waiting the result of the council as to their future conduct, went hastily on board, hoisted their sails, and prepared to fly. It was instantly determined by those who remained, that they must only risk an engagement at sea, near the isthmus. At the approach of night they left the assembly, and returned to their ships.

LVII. As soon as Themistocles had retired to

English word *sea* I do not find either in Chambers's or Johnson's Dictionary.—*T.*

[46] *Their dispute.*]—This is said to have happened in the reign of Cecrops. Neptune coming to Athens, struck with his trident the midst of the citadel, from which sprang a horse; Minerva produced an olive: Jupiter assigned the patronage of the town to Minerva.

[47] *A cubit.*]—Pausanias says two cubits. I suppose, says Larcher, the miracle increased with the time.

his vessel, Mnesiphilus*, an Athenian, came to ask him what had been the determination of the council. When he was informed of their resolution to sail to the isthmus, and come to battle in the vicinity of the Peloponnese, he expressed himself as follows: "If the allies," said he, "shall once leave Salamis, you will never have "the opportunity of fighting for your country. "The fleet will certainly separate, and each "nation return to their respective homes, and "neither Eurybiades nor any one else will be "able to prevent them: thus Greece will perish "from the want of judicious counsel. Make "haste, therefore, and endeavour to counteract "what has been determined; if it be possible, "prevail on Eurybiades to change his purpose "and continue here."

LVIII. This advice was so agreeable to Themistocles, that without returning an answer he went to the vessel of Eurybiades. As soon as he saw him, he expressed his desire to speak with him on what was of importance to the common interest: he was desired to come on board, and

* This Mnesiphilus, says Plutarch, was neither orator nor natural philosopher, but a professor of what was then called wisdom, which consisted in a knowledge of the arts of government, and the practical part of political freedom.—*Life of Themistocles.*

declare his sentiments. Themistocles, seated by him, related what had been said by Mnesiphilus, as from himself, which he so enforced by other arguments, that Eurybiades was brought over to his opinion, persuaded to leave his ship, and again assemble the leaders.

LIX. As soon as they were met, and before Eurybiades had explained why he had called them together, Themistocles spake at some length, and with great apparent zeal. Adimantus, son of Ocytus, the Corinthian leader, interrupted him. "Themistocles," said he, "at the public games "they who rise before their time are beaten." "True," replied Themistocles, "but they who "are left behind are never crowned."

LX. Having thus gently reproved the Corinthian, he turned to Eurybiades; he did not repeat what he had said to him before, that as soon as the fleet should leave Salamis the confederates would disperse, for as they were present he did not think it proper to accuse any one. He had recourse to other arguments: "The safety of "Greece," said he, "depends on you; whe- "ther, listening to me, you come to an engage- "ment here, or, persuaded by those who are of "a contrary opinion, you shall conduct the fleet "to the isthmus; hear the arguments on both "sides, and then determine. If we fight at the

" isthmus, we must fight in the open sea, where, " on account of our heavier vessels and inferior " number, we shall have every disadvantage: " add to this, that if every thing else succeed to " our wishes, we shall yet lose Salamis, Megara, " and Ægina. The land forces of the enemy will " accompany their fleet, which you will thus " draw to the Peloponnese, and involve all Greece " in danger. By adopting what I recommend, " you will have these advantages: by fighting " within a narrower space of sea, our small " force will be better able to contend with the " greater armament of the enemy, and, accord- " ing to the common chances of war, we shall " have a decisive advantage. For us, it must " be most eligible to contend in a small space, " as it is for them to fight in a large one. Thus " also will Salamis be preserved, where our wives " and children remain; and thus too, the very " advantage of which you yourselves are soli- " citous, will be secured. By remaining here, " you will as effectually defend the Peloponnese " as by sailing to the isthmus; and it will be ex- " tremely injudicious to draw the enemy there. " If, as I sincerely wish, we shall obtain the vic- " tory, the Barbarians will neither advance to " the isthmus, nor penetrate beyond Attica: they " will retire in confusion. We shall thus be " benefited by preserving Salamis, Megara, and " Ægina, where the oracle has promised we shall

" be superior to our enemy. They whose deli-
" berations are regulated by reason[48] generally
" obtain their wishes, whilst they who are rash
" in their decisions must not expect the favour of
" the gods."

LXI. Themistocles was a second time interrupted by Adimantus of Corinth, who ordered him to be silent, as not having now a country[49]; and he added that Eurybiades could only then consistently suffer Themistocles to influence his determination, when he should again have a city: this he spake in allusion to the plunder and capture of Athens. Themistocles in reply, heaped many reproaches upon the Corinthians, and upon their leader in particular; and he farther urged, that they still possessed a country and a city, in effect greater than theirs, as long as they had two

---

[48] *Regulated by reason.*]—

True fortitude is seen in great exploits,
Which justice warrants, and which wisdom guides;
All else is tow'ring phrenzy and distraction. *Addison.*

[49] *Not having now a country.*]—

Proud Adimantus, on his birth elate,
- - - - - - arose and spake:
For public safety when in council meet
Men who have countries, silence best becomes
Him who has none—Shall such presume to vote?
Too patient Spartan, nay, to dictate here,
Who cannot tell us they possess a home, &c. *Athenaid.*

hundred vessels[50], well provided with stores and men, a force which none of the Greeks would be able to resist.

LXII. He afterwards proceeded to address himself to Eurybiades in particular. "If," said he, with greater earnestness, "you continue here, "you will deserve our universal gratitude; if "not, you will be the destroyer of Greece. In "this war our fleet constitutes our last, our only "resource. You may be assured, that unless you "accede to my advice, we will take on board "our families, and remove with them to Siris in "Italy[51], which from remote times has been

---

50 *Two hundred vessels.*]—Aristotle writes, that the senate of the Areopagus gave eight drachmæ to every soldier, and thus the complement of men was soon provided. Clidemnus says that this money was procured by the artifice of Themistocles: whilst the Athenians, says he, assembled at Piræus to embark, the ægis of the statue of Minerva was lost. Themistocles pretending to make a search, found amongst the baggage an immense sum of money, which being divided, spread abundance amongst their fleet.—*Larcher.*

Thus brief he [Themistocles] clos'd:—
Athenians still possess
A city buoyant on two hundred keels.
Thou Admiral of Sparta frame thy choice;—
Fight, and Athenians shall thy arm sustain:
Retreat, Athenians shall retreat to shores
Which bid them welcome. *Athenaid.*

51 *In Italy.*]—
— — To Hesperian shores
For them by ancient oracles reserv'd:
Safe from insulting foes and false allies. *Athenaid.*

" considered as belonging to us, and where, " if the oracle may be credited, we ought to " found a city. Deprived of our assistance, " you will hereafter have occasion to remember " my words."

LXIII. By these arguments Eurybiades was finally influenced, principally, as I should suppose, from his fears lest, if they sailed to the isthmus, they should be deserted by the Athenians, without whose aid, they would be little able to contend with the enemy. He acceded therefore to what Themistocles proposed, and consented to stay and fight at Salamis.

LXIV. When the determination of Eurybiades was known, the confederates, wearied with altercations, prepared to engage. In this situation the morning appeared, at the dawn of which there was a convulsion of the earth, which was felt at sea. They determined therefore to supplicate the gods, and implore the interposition of the Æacidæ. This was accordingly done: after calling upon all the gods, they invoked Ajax and Telamon, and dispatched a vessel to Ægina, to entreat the aid of Æacus and the Æacidæ [52].

---

[52] *Æacidæ.*]—See book v. c. 80.—Consult Pausanias, book ii. c. 29.

Near the port of the island of Ægina there is a temple of Venus, and in the most conspicuous part of the city is a

LXV. Dicæus the son of Theocydes, an Athenian exile, but of considerable reputation with the Medes, at the time when Attica was deserted by the Athenians, and wasted by the army of Xerxes, reported that he was with Demaratus of Sparta on the plains of Thria. Here he saw a dust as of an army of thirty thousand men advancing from Eleusis. Whilst they were wondering from whence it could proceed, Dicæus affirms that he heard a voice which seemed to him the mystic Iacchus[53]. Demaratus, being ignorant of

---

temple of Æacus, called the Æaceium. It is a square structure of white marble, in the entrance of which are the statues of the deputies who came to Æacus from all parts of Greece.

[53] *Iacchus.*]—On the twentieth of the month Boëdremion, which answers to our October, which was the sixteeth day of the festival of the mysteries of Ceres, they carried from the Ceramians to Eleusis a figure of Iacchus, or Bacchus, crowned with myrtle, having a torch in his hand. During the procession they sung a hymn in honour of the god, which hymn was also called Iacchus, and in which they often repeated the word Iacche.—*Larcher.*

The word Iacchus is derived, according to Eustathius, απο του ιαχειν, from bawling out. Iacchus is used by Virgil as synonymous with vinum, because Iacchus or Bacchus was the god of wine: some say he was the son of Ceres. In the mysteries here mentioned he is always joined with Ceres and Proserpine; but he is not always considered as the son of Ceres, though nursed at her breast.—See *Lucretius, and Salmasius ad Solinum*, p. 750.

The circumstance of the mystica vannus, or mystical fan, which in this solemnity was carried before the image of Iac-

the Eleusinian mysteries[54], inquired the meaning of the noise which he heard. "Demaratus," answered Dicæus, "some great calamity is im-
"pending over the forces of the king: Attica
"being deserted, it is evidently the divinity which
"speaks, and is now coming from Eleusis to as-
"sist the Athenians and their allies. If this
"shall appear in the Peloponnese, the king him-
"self, and the forces which are with him, will
"be involved in the greatest danger; if it shall
"shew itself at Salamis, the destruction of the
"king's fleet will probably ensue. Once in every

---

chus, is thus curiously explained by Servius ad Georg. i. 166. The fan, says he, was carried in procession before Bacchus, because they who were initiated into his mysteries are purified as corn is by the use of the fan or van.—*T.*

54 *Mysteries.*]—I have before spoken on the subject of these mysteries; but the reader will find a far more particular and entertaining account of them in Warburton's Divine Legation, and in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, vol. v. 507, &c. Warburton intimates his belief that the initiated were instructed in the unity of the Divine Being. Larcher thinks otherwise: they might perhaps, says the learned Frenchman, do this with respect to those whom they found inclined to believe this dogma; but they preached atheism to a select number, in whom they found a favourable disposition to receive it. The temple of Ceres, where these mysteries were celebrated, was one of the noblest in Greece; it is described by Strabo, book ix. and by Vitruvius, book vii. A view of it is given in "*Le Roy's Ruins of Greece;*" and it is described also by Chandler in his Travels in Greece. There were the greater and the lesser mysteries; the latter of which belonged to Proserpine.—*T.*

" year the Athenians solemnize these rites to Ce-
" res and Proserpine, when also they initiate into
" the mysteries, such of the Greeks as may desire
" it. The sound which you hear is the cry of
" Iacchus *." To this he says Demaratus made him this reply: " Make no mention of this to any " one. If what you say should be communicated " to the king, you will certainly lose your head, " and neither myself nor any one else will be able " to save you: be silent, therefore, and leave the " event to the gods." He added, that after the dust and voice which they saw and heard, a cloud appeared, which directed its course towards Salamis and the Grecian fleet. From this they concluded that the armament of Xerxes would be defeated. This was reported by Dicæus [55] the son of Theocydes; for the truth of which he appealed to Demaratus and others.

---

* This reflecting age will not allow supernatural voices to be forerunners of great events, but Pagan superstition was not without its authority.

[55] *Dicæus.*]—Upon this name the following pleasant anecdote occurs in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis.

A Persian, who founded all his merit on the splendour of his name, came to Athens: as I had known him at Susa, I was his conductor to the theatre. We happened to sit near a number of Athenians who were talking together—he was anxious to know their names. The first, says I, is called *Eudoxus*, that is, *the honourable;* immediately my Persian makes a low bow to *Eudoxus;* the second, I continued, is named *Polycletus*, or the *very celebrated;* another very low bow. Doubtless, says he, these two are at the head of the

LXVI. The naval troops of Xerxes, after being spectators of the slaughter of the Spartans, passed over from Trachis to Histiæa, where they remained three days: thence sailing down the Euripus, in three more they came to Phalerum [56]. The land and sea forces were neither

---

republic. Oh no, they are people whom nobody knows. That third person, who seems so infirm, is called *Megasthenes*, or *the very strong;* the fat heavy man yonder is named *Prothoos*, or *the very swift;* yon melancholy fellow's name is *Epicharis*, which means *the cheerful.* The sixth, says the Persian impatiently, how is he called? *Sostrates*, or *the saviour of the army.* He has commanded, then? No; he has never been in the service. The seventh, yonder, who is called *Clitomachus*, which signifies *illustrious warrior*, has always been a coward, and is declared infamous. The name of the eighth is *Dicæus*, or the *just*, a most notorious rascal.—I was going to name the ninth, when the stranger rose and said, How all these people disgrace their names! But at least, says I, you must confess, that their names do not make them coxcombs.—*T.*

[56] *Phalerum.*]—Athens had three ports near each other, Piræus, Munychia, and Phalerum. Phalerum was said to have been named from Phalerus, a companion of Jason in the Argonautic expedition. Theseus sailed from it for Crete, and Menestheus his successor for Troy; and it continued to be the haven of Athens to the time of Themistocles. It is a small port of a circular form; the entrance narrow, the bottom a clear fine sand, visible through the transparent water. The fane of Aristides, and his monument, which was erected at the public expence, were by this port. The capital port was Piræus.—*Chandler.*

Chandler writes Phalerum; Pococke Phalereus and Pyræium; D'Anville, Phalerus; Meursius, in his tract called Piræus, or an Essay on the Port of that name, writes Phalerum, and properly. This was the most ancient port of the three.—*T.*

of them, as far as I can determine, less in number when they laid waste Attica, than when they first arrived at Sepias and Thermopylæ. To supply the loss of those who perished in the storm, and who were slain at Thermopylæ and Artemisium, there arrived from those nations which had not yet declared for the king, reinforcements of Melians, Dorians, Locrians, and Bactrians, who, except the Thespians and Platæans, joined him with all their troops. To these may be added the Carystians, Andrians, Tenians, with all the people of the islands, except the five states [57] before specified. The farther the Persians penetrated into Greece, by the greater numbers they were followed.

LXVII. All these troops, except the Parians, assembled at Athens or at Phalerum. The Parians [58] staid at Cythnus, waiting for the event of the war. At this juncture Xerxes visited his fleet in person, to confer with the leaders, and to acquaint himself with their sentiments. On his arrival, he presided at a council, where the princes of the different nations, and the several commanders, were placed according to the rank

57 *Five states.*]—Naxos, Melos, Siphnos, Seriphus, and Cythnus.

58 *Parians.*]—The Parians shared with the Persians the disgrace of the battle of Marathon; and their perfidy to the Greeks became proverbial.—*T.*

which Xerxes had given them. The prince of Sidon first, the prince of Tyre[59] next, and the

---

[59] *Tyre.*]—In Isaiah, chapter xxiii. ver. 10.] Tyre is called the daughter of Tarshish; in the same chapter, ver. 12, Tyre is called the daughter of Sidon, I presume, on different accounts. The Syrians were originally a colony of the Sidonians, and Sidon, consequently the mother city of Tyre. By Tarshish, the Seventy universally understand Carthage: but how then could Tyre be called the daughter of Tarshish? for Carthage was the daughter of Tyre.

Herodotus, in book ii. chap. 44, speaks of the Hercules of Tyre. It has been conjectured by many learned men, that this could have been no other than the Israelitish Sampson. That this is very probable, the reader may perhaps be inclined to think from these among other reasons:

With the story of Sampson the Tyrians might easily become acquainted at Joppa, a seaport belonging to the tribe of Dan; but more especially from those Danites who removed to Laish, in the neighbourhood of Tyre, and who, as Ezekiel informs us, had great commerce with the Tyrians. These Danites came from Zorah and Eshtaol, where Sampson was born and lived, and would not fail of promulgating and magnifying the exploits of their own hero. I am aware how rash it is to pronounce a sameness of person from a likeness of certain circumstances in the actions of men, but there are many particulars so striking, first in the account given of this Tyrian Hercules by Herodotus, and secondly, in the ritual prescribed for his worship, that where we can prove nothing by more solid argument, conjectures so founded may be permitted to have some weight. The story of Sampson will account for the two pillars set up in the temple of Hercules, if we consider them as placed there in commemoration of the greatest of Sampson's exploits. The various circumstances which Herodotus makes peculiar to the Tyrian Hercules, however

rest in order. The king then commissioned Mardonius to inquire of them individually whether they were willing to engage the enemy.

LXVIII. Mardonius began with the prince of Sidon, and from him went to the rest; and they were all of opinion that a battle should be

---

disguised, are all reducible and relative to this last action of Sampson. 1. Hercules, being apprehended by the Ægyptians, was led in procession as a sacrifice to Jupiter; and the Philistines proclaimed a feast, to offer a great sacrifice to Dagon their god, and to rejoice, because Sampson was delivered into their hands. 2. Whilst Hercules stood at the altar, he remained quiet for a season; and so did Sampson when his strength was departed from him. 3. But in a short time Hercules returned to his strength, and slew all the Ægyptians.—Concerning the ritual used in the worship of the Tyrian Hercules, Bochart remarks there were many things in it not practised elsewhere. Let the reader judge from what follows whether they do not seem borrowed from the Levitical Law, or grounded on what the Scripture relates of Sampson. The total disuse of images, the prohibition of swine in sacrifice, the habit of the priest, his embroidered stole, &c. and naked feet, the strict chastity exacted of him, the fire ever-burning on the altar, are all of them precepts which Moses delivered. Why may we not add that the exclusion of women from the temple, and the shaven head of the priests, were intended to brand the treacherous behaviour of Dalilah, and to commemorate the loss of Sampson's locks? Appian, Arrian, and Diodorus Siculus, acknowledge these to have been Phœnician rites, and different from any observed amongst the Greeks; and it is well known that this *singularity* was a principal point intended by the ritual of Moses.—*F.*

fought; but Artemisia thus delivered her sentiments: "Mardonius, deliver this my opinion "to the king, whose exertions in the battle of "Eubœa were neither the meanest nor the least; "I think myself therefore justified in declaring "what I think will be most to your interest "to pursue. I would advise you to spare your "ships, and not risk a battle. These men by "sea are as much superior to yours, as men are "to women: but after all, what necessity is there "for your hazarding an engagement? You are "already in possession of Athens, the avowed "object of this expedition, the rest of Greece "is already your own, and no one resists you. "They who opposed you, have met the fate "they merited. I will now tell you how the "affairs of your adversaries are circumstanced: "if you do not urge a naval engagement, but "will order your vessels either to remain here, "or sail to the Peloponnese, all your wishes "will infallibly be accomplished. The Greeks "will not long be able to oppose you; you will "oblige them to separate, and retire to their "respective homes. I am well informed, that "in the island where they are, they have no "supply of provisions; and if you shall enter "the Peloponnese, it is not to be supposed that "these remaining here, will risk a battle for the "sake of the Athenians. But if you determine "to fight them by sea, I seriously fear that a

" defeat of your fleet will be added to that of " your land forces. Let this also be impressed " upon your mind, that the best of men have " sometimes the worst of servants; and that bad " men are frequently served with fidelity. You, " O king, are one of the best of men; but you " have among your dependents Ægyptians, Cypri- " ans, Cilicians, and Pamphylians[60], from whom " no good can be expected."

---

[60] *Cilicians and Pamphylians.*]—However contemptuously these people may be here introduced, it is certain that Tarsus of Cilicia was accounted the metropolis of this part of Asia, and was the first commercial power which made any figure in that part of the world. Not only the fables of Pagan mythology, which inform us that Anchiale was built by the daughter of Japetus, and Tarsus by Perseus, son of Jupiter, bear witness to the high antiquity of these cities; but Scripture also informs us, that the sons of Tarshish, who were settled on this coast, had made themselves famous for their navigation and commerce as early as the days of David. The *ships of Tarshish*, see Psalm xlviii. 7, were then become a common appellation for all vessels of trade; and *to go to Tarshish*, a proverbial expression for setting out to sea in such vessels. That part of the Mediterranean which was contiguous to Cilicia was called the Sea of Tarshish. Pamphylia was colonized from Cilicia, and was the entrance to it from the north-west. Strabo gives this character of the natives of Tarsus: " They did not stay at home," says he, " but in order to complete their education went abroad; and many of them, when thus accomplished, resided with pleasure in foreign parts, and never returned." When their neighbours on all sides, both in Asia and the adjacent islands, made themselves infamous for their piratical depredations, the inhabitants of Tarsus maintained a fair reputation; they

LXIX. They who wished well to Artemisia were apprehensive that her speaking thus decisively to Mardonius against risking a battle, would bring upon her some mark of the king's indignation: her enemies, on the contrary, who wished to see her disgraced, and who were jealous of her favour with the king, were delighted in the confident expectation that her freedom of speech would prove her ruin; but Xerxes, after hearing the opinions of the council, was particularly pleased with that of Artemisia; he had esteemed her before, but he was on this occasion lavish in her praise. He nevertheless determined to comply with the decision of the majority; and as he imputed the former ill success at Eubœa to his being absent, he resolved to be a spectator of the battle of Salamis.

LXX. When orders were given for the fleet to depart, they proceeded towards Salamis, and deliberately ranged themselves in order of battle. As the approach of evening prevented their then

---

not only occupied their business in great waters, but they also traded on the continent. They had factories at Dedan and Sheba on the Euphrates, with which they trafficked in silver, &c.—*Ezekiel*, xxxviii. 10. All which incidents considered, I should suppose that the censure of Artemisia, passed upon them in this place, will hardly occasion them to be considered either as a faithless or cowardly people.

It is evident that if her advice had been followed Greece must have been lost.—*T.*

coming to an encounter, they prepared themselves for the following day. In the mean while a general consternation was impressed upon the Greeks, and in particular upon those of the Peloponnese, who, conceiving that their fighting at Salamis was solely on account of the Athenians, believed that a defeat would occasion their being blockaded in the island, and would leave their own country totally defenceless.

LXXI. On the very same night the land forces of the Barbarians advanced to the Peloponnese, though every possible effort had been made to check their proceeding farther on the continent. As soon as the Peloponnesians had heard of the ruin of Leonidas and his party at Thermopylæ, they assembled, at the isthmus, all the forces they could collect from their different cities under the conduct of Cleombrotus, the son of Anaxandrides, and brother of Leonidas. Encamped here, their first care was to fortify the pass of Sciron[61]; they then, after consulting on the subject, proceeded to defend the whole of

[61] *Sciron.*]—Said by Strabo to have been called from the famous robber of that name, who was remarkable for his barbarity to passengers, and who was killed by Theseus.—See Lucian in Jove Tragædo, where we learn that at the same time Theseus destroyed two other famous robbers, whose names were Pityocamptes and Cercyon. Sciron he threw into the sea, and his bones became rocks.—See *Ovid. Met.* vii. 443.—*T.*

the isthmus by a wall. This was soon finished, as not one of so many thousands was inactive; for without intermission, either by night or day, they severally brought stones, bricks, timber, and bags of sand.

LXXII. The Greeks who appeared in defence of the isthmus with their collected strength, were the Lacedæmonians, Arcadians universally, Eleans *, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Phliasians, Trœzenians and Hermionians. All these were drawn together, by the danger which menaced Greece. The rest of the Peloponnesians, although the Olympic games and Carnian festivals were past, remained in careless inactivity at home.

LXXIII. The Peloponnese is inhabited by seven different nations; two of these, the Arcadians[62] and Cynurians, are natives of the

* Pausanias also affirms that the Eleans took part in the war between the Greeks and Xerxes, whilst Diodorus Siculus asserts that they did not.—See Diod. Sic. Excerpt. de Virtut. et Vitiis.

62 *Arcadians.*]—Eustathius in Dion. v. 414, tells us that Arcadia was formerly called Gigantis, that is, the Land of Giants. It was also called Azania. Arcadia was sacred to the god Pan, who was worshipped in every corner of the country. It was celebrated for its pastures; and its

country, and have never changed their place of residence. The Achaians have never quitted the Peloponnese, but simply removed from one situation to another. The four others, namely the Dorians, Ætolians, Dryopians, and Lemnians, migrated hither. The Dorians have many famous cities; the Ætolians[63] Elis only;

---

inhabitants were so generally addicted to the business of feeding cattle, that Arcades and Pastores became synonymous terms; and the Bucolic verse was styled the Arcadian. Of the antiquity which this people claimed I have already spoken in a foregoing note. Some have supposed Arcadia to have been so called from Arcas, the son of Callisto, who was said to have had his name from the supposed transformation of his mother, and to have given it to Arcadia.—See in *Arati Phæn. de Callistho.* Τεκειν Αρκτον ωσαν τον κληθεντα Αρκαδα. Homer says they were wholly ignorant of maritime affairs:

Επει ου σφι Θαλασσια εργα μεμηλει.

Which Pope imperfectly renders,

And new to all the dangers of the main.

See what De Pauw says of the Arcadians in his *Recherches sur les Grecs.*—*T.*

[63] *Ætolians.*]—There seems to be a doubt in this place whether it should be read Æolians or Ætolians. Æolus is said by some learned men to be Elisha, eldest son of Javan.—See the Genealogy. The name Elisha is explained by the Jewish Rabbis to mean *ad insulam;* and Varro, as cited by Servius on the 1st Æneid, gives the same title to Æolus Hippotades, styling him *dominus insularum.* Lesbus was called Issa, that is, I believe, the island.—See Hesychius in Ισση. Of the Ætolians, M. P. de Pauw, in his Preliminary

the Dryopians have Hermion and Asina, near Cardamyle[64], in Laconia. The Paroreatæ[65] are all Lemnians. The Cynurians, though natives of the country, are supposed to be Ionians; but in process of time, like the Orneatæ and their neighbours, they became Dorians, and subject to the Argives[66]. Of all these seven nations,

---

Discourse to his Recherches Philosophiques, sur les Grecs, gives a shocking character. "On y parloit," says the Frenchman, "à la verité la langue des Grecs, mais on y avoit les mœurs des Barbares, & tant d'atrocité dans le caractère, que l'on comparoit les Etoliens à des bêtes féroces cachées sous le masque de l'homme," &c.—*T.*

[64] *Cardamyle.*]—Strabo says this city was founded on a rock, επι πετρας; and Homer mentions it as one of the seven which Agamemnon promised to give Achilles.—*T.*

[65] *Paroreatæ.*]—See book iv. c. 145. Oreatæ was the name of a city in the territories of Lacedæmon, which was afterwards called Brasiæ or Prasiæ; concerning which consult Pausanias in Laconicis.—*T.*

[66] *Argives.*]—Eustathius says, that Apis cleared the Peloponnese of serpents, and named it from himself Apia; he was deified and thence called Serapis, a manifest allusion to the great idol of the Ægyptians. From these serpents Argos might receive its name, for αργαι was used as synonymous with οφις.—See *Hesychius.* The frog, which was the symbol of the people of Argos, was explained to be a direction to them to keep at home; and properly enough, that they might guard the isthmus, prevent a surprise, and be a constant garrison to the Peloponnese. It was in allusion also, I believe, to their old name Leleges. Λαλαγες, says Hesychius, is the frog of a green colour. The Spartan coin, or that of the Peloponnese, was a χελωνη, or tortoise, the symbol of a housekeeper.—*T.*

those only whom I have specified, attached themselves to the cause of Greece; the others, if I may speak the truth, certainly favoured the Medes.

LXXIV. They who were at the isthmus exerted themselves as if every thing depended upon them alone, not expecting any thing from the fleet. The Greeks at Salamis, hearing this, were overwhelmed with terror, not so much on their own account, as on that of the Peloponnese. They began to murmur secretly among each other, and to complain of the injudicious conduct of Eurybiades. They at length expressed their discontent aloud, and obliged a council to be called; a violent debate ensued, some were for sailing instantly to the Peloponnese, and risking every thing for its defence, urging the absurdity of staying where they were to contend for a country already captured. The Athenians, with those of Ægina and Megara, thought it most advisable to fight where they were.

LXXV. Themistocles, seeing himself overpowered by those of the Peloponnese, retired privately from the council: he immediately dispatched a messenger to the enemy's fleet, with instructions what to say. The man's name was Sicinnus, a domestic, and the tutor of his chil-

dren, whom Themistocles afterwards caused to be made a citizen of Thespia, and who became very opulent. Directing his course to the leaders of the Barbarian fleet, he thus addressed them: "The Athenian leader[67], who in reality is at-"tached to the king, and who wishes to see the "Greeks in subjection to your power, has sent "me thus privately to you: a consternation has "seized the Greeks, and they are preparing to "fly; an opportunity is now afforded you of "performing a splendid action, unless you suffer "it through negligence to escape you. They "are divided among themselves, and incapable "of farther resistance. You will soon see those "who favour, and who are inclined to oppose "you, in hostilities with each other." Having said this, Sicinnus departed.

LXXVI. The Barbarians, confiding in this

---

[67] *Athenian leader.*]—

Themistocles, who leads
Athenian squadrons, is the monarch's friend,
Approv'd by this intelligence; the Greeks
In consternation shortly will resolve
To separate and fly. Let Asia's fleet
Her numbers round in diligence extend,
Investing every passage; then confus'd
This whole confederated force of Greece
Will sooner yield than fight, and Xerxes close
At once so perilous a war. *Athenaid.*

intelligence, passed over a large body of Persians to the small island of Psittalia[68], betwixt Salamis and the continent. About midnight the western division of their fleet advanced towards Salamis[69], meaning to surround it. The ships also which lay off Ceos and Cynosura[70], removed, and occupied the whole narrow sea as far as Munychia. They drew out their fleet in this manner to cut off from the Greeks the possibility of retreat, and that, thus inclosed at Salamis, they might suffer vengeance for the battle of Artemisium. Their view in sending a body of forces to Psittalia was this: this island was contiguous to the spot where the battle must of necessity take place; as therefore such vessels and men as were injured in the fight must endea-

---

[68] *Psittalia*].—Ψιτταλια. Non retulissem inter populos Atticos nisi Strabonis locus aliud suaderet. Itaque credendum illum aliquando fuisse habitatum.—*Jacobus Sponius de Pagis Atticis.*

[69] *Advanced towards Salamis.*]—Larcher, in a very elaborate note, attempts to describe the situation of the two fleets with respect to each other in this memorable engagement; but the reader perhaps will have a better conception of it from the chart to be found in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, than from any thing Larcher has said, or that I can say.—*T.*

[70] *Cynosura.*]—This was a promontory of Attica, opposite to the southern extremity of Eubœa; and must not be confounded with the place of the same name in Laconia. Some critical remarks on the subsequent oracle may be found in Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. Hist. Appendix N° 2.—*T.*

vour to take refuge here, they might here preserve their own and destroy the forces of the enemy. The measure was pursued privately and unperceived by the enemy, to accomplish which, the whole night was employed without any interval of rest.

LXXVII. After reflecting upon this subject, the truth of the oracular prediction appears incontestable; for who would attempt to contradict a declaration so obvious as the following?

" On Dian's shore, and Cynosura's coasts,
" When ev'ry strait is fill'd with naval hosts;
" When hostile bands, inspir'd with frantic hope,
" In Athens give wide-wasting fury scope.—
" Then shall the youthful son of daring Pride
" The vengeance of celestial wrath abide,
" Fierce tho' he be, and confident of pow'r,
" For arms with arms shall clash, and blood
" shall show'r
" O'er all the sea: while liberty and peace
" From Jove and Victory descend on Greece."

After the above explicit declaration from Bacis, I shall neither presume to question the authority of oracles myself, nor patiently suffer others to do so*.

* It is a question of importance, says Jortin, whether there has ever been in the Pagan world such a thing as divination, or a foreknowledge of things. The strongest

LXXVIII. Disputes still continued to run high among the leaders at Salamis, who were not at all conscious of their being surrounded by the Barbarians. They presumed that the enemy remained on the very same post in which they had observed them during the day.

LXXIX. Whilst they were debating in council, Aristides, son of Lysimachus, arrived at Ægina; he was an Athenian, and had been banished[71] by

---

argument against it is contained in Isaiah, where the Almighty, foretelling many great events, particularly the raising up of Cyrus to destroy the Babylonian Monarchy, and to deliver the Jews from captivity, declares that he alone can divine such things, and appeals to these predictions as proofs of his divinity, and evident arguments that there is no God besides him.

[71] *Banished.*]—Literally ostracised. Every body knows that ostracism was the banishing a person by writing his name upon a shell, in Greek *Ostracon.* It was not a dishonourable banishment, but rather a mark of popularity, and generally inflicted on the great and powerful. By this, Themistocles, Aristides, Thucydides, and Alcibiades, were banished.

By ostracism, a person was banished for ten years; a similar mode of banishment was adopted at Syracuse, and called petalism, where the people wrote the name upon a leaf, *petalon.* By petalism, a man was banished for five years only.

Perpetual exile at Athens was the punishment of sacrilege and high treason; the term they used was not φευγειν, but εξερχεσθαι.—*T.*

a vote of the people, although my information induces me to consider him as the most excellent[72], and upright of his fellow-citizens. He immediately went to the assembly and called out Themistocles, who was not his friend, but his particular enemy. The greatness of the impending danger prevailing over every thing else, he called him out to confer with him; he had heard how anxious the Peloponnesians were to return with the fleet to the isthmus; accordingly when Themistocles appeared, he spoke to him thus: "It would become us at any time, and "more particularly at the present, to contend "which of us can best serve our country[73]. I

---

[72] *Most excellent.*]—Ælian gives a catalogue of Greeks who were alike remarkable for their extraordinary merit and extreme poverty. Aristides, Phocion, Epaminondas, Pelopidas, Lamachus, Socrates, and Ephialtes. With respect to the dispute betwixt Themistocles and Aristides, the same authority informs us, that they were educated together under the same preceptor, and that when children they were notorious for their dislike of and quarrels with each other. Plutarch says, that one amongst other reasons for the inveterate hatred which prevailed betwixt them, was their having an attachment to the same youth.

The circumstance of their mutually laying aside their animosities when their country was in danger, has obtained them everlasting glory.—*T.*

[73] *Best serve our country.*]—

Dissensions past as puerile and vain
Now to forget, and nobly strive who best

"have to inform you, that whatever the Pelo-
"ponnesians may now urge, with respect to re-
"tiring to the isthmus, can be of no signifi-
"cation: I can assure you, from my own obser-
"vation, that the Corinthians, and Eurybiades
"himself, could not now sail thither if they
"would; we are on all sides surrounded by
"the enemy. Return therefore, and tell this
"to the assembly."

LXXX. "What you tell me," replied Themistocles, "I consider as particularly happy for
"us all. The thing which I most ardently
"wished to happen, you have beheld: know,
"then, that this motion of the Medes is the
"consequence of my measures, it appearing to
"me essential that those Greeks who were re-
"luctant to fight should be compelled to do so;
"but as you come to tell us what promises us
"so much good, tell it yourself. If I shall
"inform the assembly of what you say, I shall
"obtain no credit; nor will they suppose that
"the Barbarians are posted as they are. Enter

Shall serve his country, Aristides warns
His ancient foe Themistocles. I hear
Thou giv'st the best of counsel, which the Greeks
Reject through mean solicitude to fly.
Weak men! throughout these narrow seas the foe
Is stationed, now preventing all escape. *Athenaid.*

" therefore yourself, and inform them how things " are. If they believe you, it will be well; but " if not, the event will be the same. For if, as " you say, we are surrounded, there exists no op- " portunity to retreat."

LXXXI. Aristides entering the council, repeated what he had before said; that he was come from Ægina, and had passed with great difficulty through the enemy's forces; that the Grecian fleet was entirely surrounded; and that it became them to prepare for their defence. Aristides, as soon as he had spoken, retired. Fresh altercations now again rose among the leaders, the greater part of whom refused to credit what they had heard.

LXXXII. Whilst they continued still to doubt, a trireme of Tenians deserted to them; they were commanded by Parætius, the son of Sosimenes, and their intelligence put the matter beyond all dispute. In gratitude for this service, the names of the Tenians were inserted upon the tripod consecrated at Delphi, among those who repelled the Barbarians. This vessel, which joined them at Salamis[74], added to one of Lem-

---

[74] *Salamis.*]—Attica was surrounded by islands, but except this of Salamis, they were in general barren and unin-

nos, which before came over to them at Artemisium, made the exact number of the Grecian ships* three hundred and eighty. There were only three hundred and seventy-eight before.

LXXXIII. The Greeks having all their doubts removed by the Tenians, prepared seriously for battle. At the dawn of morning all was in readiness. Themistocles said every thing which might avail to animate his troops. The principal purport of his speech was a comparison betwixt great and pusillanimous actions; explaining how much the activity and genius of man could effect, and exhorting them to have glory in view†. As soon as he had finished, orders were given to embark. At this juncture, the vessel which had been sent to the Æacidæ

---

habited. Salamis is praised in high terms by Euripides, as abounding in honey and olives. Euripides and Solon were both born here. The trophies of the battle of Salamis, says De Pauw, cease to interest us; but the Iphigenia in Tauris, and the legislation of Solon, can never be forgotten.

To take a circuit of the district of Attica, it was advised to embark at Salamis, double the promontory of Sunium, and landing in the Oropian territories, proceed to the mouth of the Asopus. —*T.*

* Æschylus limits the number of Grecian ships to 300. See the Persæ, 337, 338.

† Themistocles must here be presumed to address the Athenians. The other generals doubtless did the same to their several troops.

returned from Ægina, and soon afterwards all the Grecian fleet were under sail.

LXXXIV. As soon as they began to move, the Barbarians rushed upon them. While the Greeks hung back, and seemed rather inclined to retire, Aminias of Pallene, an Athenian, darted forwards and attacked the enemy; when he was so involved with his opponent, as to be unable to separate, the rest came to his assistance, and a promiscuous engagement ensued. Thus, according to the Athenians, the battle began. The people of Ægina say, that the engagement was begun by the vessel which had been sent to the Æacidæ. It is also affirmed that a female figure was visible to the Greeks, and that in a voice sufficiently loud to be heard by them all, it exclaimed, "Infatu-"ated men, how long will ye remain inactive "on your oars?"

LXXXV. The Athenians were opposed to the Phœnicians, who occupied the division towards Eleusis[75] and the west; the Lacedæmo-

---

[75] *Eleusis.*]—So called from Eleusis, son of Mercury.—See *Pausanias in Atticis, & Meursius Atticæ Lectiones*, l. iii. c. 20. The Eleusinians submitted voluntarily to the dominion of Athens, on condition of having the privilege exclusively of celebrating the mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine, which proved to them an inexhaustible source of riches.—*T.*

nians combated the Ionians, who were in the division towards the Piræus[76] and the east. A small number of these, at the suggestion of Themistocles, made no remarkable exertions; but with the majority it was otherwise. I am able to mention the names of several trierarchs who overpowered and took Grecian vessels; but I shall only specify Theomestor, son of Androdamas, and Phylacus, son of Histiæus, both of them Samians. I mention these, because on account of the service which he on this occasion performed, Theomestor was made prince of Samos by the Persians. Phylacus also had his name written *, as deserving of the royal favour,

---

76 *Piræus.*]—This, as I have before remarked, was the most celebrated port of the Athenians. A Tract of J. Meursius, called Piræus, contains every thing relating to it and its antiquities.—*T.*

* They who had rendered personal services to the sovereign, had their names inscribed in public registers. See Thucydides, l. i. c. 129.

To this custom the following verse in the book of Esther doubtless alludes, vi. 1.

"On that night could not the king sleep, and he commanded to bring the Book of Records of the Chronicles."

In one of the Oriental Tales published by myself, in 1795, from a manuscript brought from Aleppo by my friend Dr. Russel, the Kalif of Damascus is represented as unable to sleep, and in consequence sends for his vizier. The vizier, on his arrival, proposes various modes of tranquillizing his master's mind: among others, he says, Let us go to one of

and was presented with a large tract of land. They who merit the favour of the king are in the Persian tongue called Orosangæ.

LXXXVI. A very great part of the Barbarian fleet was torn in pieces at Salamis, principally by the Athenians and the people of Ægina. The event could not well be otherwise. The Greeks fought in order, and preserved their ranks; the Barbarians, without either regularity or judgment. They nevertheless behaved better this day than at Eubœa, and they made the greater exertions from their terror of the king, in whose sight[77] they imagined they fought.

LXXXVII. To speak decisively and minutely of the several efforts, either of Barbarians or Greeks, is more than I can presume to do. The conduct however of Artemisia increased her fa-

---

your majesty's palaces in the suburbs, and entertain ourselves with the "representations of times past." The general similitude is very striking.

[77] *In whose sight.*]—It is no doubt difficult to describe and understand accounts of battles; but whoever places himself on the spot where the Persian monarch is said to have viewed the battle of Salamis, and at the same time reads the account which Herodotus, or that which Æschylus, an eye-witness, gives in his Persæ of that action, and considers the shoalness of the water, and the small space into which so many ships were crowded, must think contemptibly of the marine engagements in those days.—*Wood on Homer.*

favour with the king. When the greatest disorder prevailed in the royal fleet, the vessel of Artemisia was pursued by an Athenian, and reduced to the extremest danger. In this perplexity, having before her many vessels of her allies, and being herself the nearest to the enemy, the following artifice succeeded[78]. As she retreated from the Athenian, she commenced an attack upon a ship of her own party; it was a Calyndian, and had on board Damasithymus, the Calydian prince. Whilst they were in the Hellespont, she was involved in some dispute with this man, but it is still uncertain whether her conduct in the present instance was the effect of design, or accidentally happened from the Calyndian's coming first in her way. This vessel Artemisia attacked and sunk, by which she obtained a double advantage. The Athenian commander, seeing the vessel he pursued attack a Barbarian, supposed that it was either a Grecian ship, or one that had deserted the Barbarians, and was now assisting the Greeks: he was thus induced to direct his attack elsewhere.

LXXXVIII. Artemisia by this action not

---

[78] *Artifice succeeded.*]—Polyænus informs us, that Artemisia first ordered her Persian ensign to be taken down; a circumstance omitted by Herodotus, but which adds much to the probability of the story.—*Larcher.*

only avoided the impending danger, but also made herself more acceptable to the king at the time she was doing him an actual injury. It is asserted that the king, as he viewed the engagement, observed her vessel bearing down upon the other. At this period, some attendant* remarked to him, "Observe, Sir, the prowess of "Artemisia, she has now sent to the bottom a "vessel of the enemy." The king was earnest in his enquiry, whether the ship which attracted his attention was really that of Artemisia. Those about him, knowing exactly the figure which distinguished her ship, assured him that it was: at the same time they had no doubt but the vessel she had attacked belonged to the enemy. It happened among the other fortunate occurrences which Artemisia met with, that not a single person of the Calyndian vessel survived to accuse her. Xerxes is said to have replied to what they told him: "The men have behaved like women, "the women like men [79]."

---

* According to some, this person's name was Draco, son of Eupempos, of Samos. He had so acute a sight, that he could distinguish objects at the distance of twenty stadia. Xerxes gave him a thousand talents to accompany him on this expedition.

79 *The women like men.*]—Xerxes sent a complete suit of Grecian armour to Artemisia, as a reward of her bravery; to the commander of his own fleet, a distaff and spindle.—*Polyænus.*

This last does not seem to me probable, and the answer

LXXXIX. In this battle, many persons of distinction fell, both of the Persians, the Medes, and their confederates: among others Ariabignes[80] was slain; he was the commander-in-chief, son of Darius, and brother of Xerxes. The loss of the Greeks was but small. As they were expert in swimming[81], they whose ships were destroyed, and who did not perish by the sword, made their escape to Salamis. Great numbers of the Barbarians, from their ignorance of this art, were drowned. When the foremost ships were obliged to seek their safety by flight, a general destruction

---

of Xerxes perhaps gave rise to it. The commander of the fleet was the brother of Xerxes, who died after fighting gallantly.—*Larcher.*

Larcher might have said that this was *impossible*. Would Xerxes send a spindle to a dead man? It is false too that his men behaved like women; they fought as well as the Greeks, and their defeat was owing to other causes, which have operated from that day to this in the same manner.

80 *Ariabignes.*]—Called Artabazanes, book vii. c. 2.

81 *Swimming.*]—The art of swimming constituted a material part of youthful education amongst the Greeks and Romans; if they intended to speak in very contemptuous terms of any man, they said he had neither learned to read nor to swim.

Savary informs us, that of the Ægyptians, men, women, and children, are remarkably expert, and he says graceful, in swimming. Man is the only perfect animal which learns to swim, all others swim naturally: in general we find that islanders, and all those people whose country is intersected by canals, or abounds in rivers, are skilful in this manly exercise, whilst those living more inland are ignorant of it. —*T.*

of the rest ensued. They who were behind, anxious to advance to the front, and to give to the king, who viewed them, some testimony of their zeal and courage, ran foul of those vessels, which were retreating.

XC. During the confusion, many Phœnicians who had lost their ships, went to the king, and informed him, that their disgrace was occasioned by the perfidy of the Ionians. The consequence of this was, that the Ionian leaders were not punished with death, but the Phœnicians were. While they were yet speaking, a Samothracian vessel attacked one of Attica, and sunk it; immediately afterwards, a ship of Ægina fell upon the Samothracian, and inflicted on it a similar fate; but the Samothracians, who were skilful in the management of the spear, attacked as they were going down their adversaries with so much success, that they boarded and took the vessel. This exploit was very fortunate for the Ionians. Xerxes observing this specimen of the Ionian valour, turned with anger to the Phœnicians, and as he was beyond measure vexed and exasperated, he ordered them all to be beheaded, as being pusillanimous themselves, they had presumed to accuse men better than themselves. The king, placed on mount Ægaleos[82], which is

[82] *Mount Ægaleos.*]—The ancients differ concerning the place from which Xerxes beheld the battle of Salamis. Pha-

opposite to Salamis, was particularly observant of the battle, and when he saw any person eminently distinguish himself, he was minute in his inquiries concerning his family and city; all which, at his direction, his scribes recorded. This execution of the Phœnicians, was not a little forwarded by Ariaramnes, a Persian, and favourite of the king, who happened to be then present.

---

nodemus pretends that it was from the temple of Hercules, in a place where Attica is separated from Salamis by a very small strait. Acestodorus says it was from the hills called Cerata (The Horns) or the confines of the territory of Megara. The difference is only in appearance. They fought, says Pausanias, at Salamis, which stretches itself as far as Megara; thus Mount Ægaleos was on the confines of Attica and Megara.—*Larcher.*

Æschylus in the Persæ contents himself with saying, that Xerxes was a spectator of the engagement, without saying from what place:

Εδραν γαρ ειχε παντος ευαγγη στρατου
Ὑψηλον οχθον αγχι πελαγιας αλος.

He had a seat from which he could easily discern all his forces, a lofty mound, *near the sea;* from which it should seem to have been some artificial tumulus. The Scholiast to the passage of Æschylus refers the reader to the place before us in Herodotus. Pliny calls it Mount Ægialos.—*T.*

Xerxes, who enthron'd
High on Ægaleos anxious sate to view
A scene which nature never yet display'd,
Nor fancy feign'd. The theatre was Greece,
Mankind spectators, equal to that stage,
Themistocles, great actor. *Athenaid.*

XCI. In this disaster were the Phœnicians involved; the Barbarians retreating, were anxious to gain Phalerum; the Æginetæ however, guarding this neck of the sea, performed what well deserves mention. The Athenians in the tumult of the fight overpowered those who resisted, and pressed upon those who fled. These last the Æginetæ attacked, so that many which escaped from the Athenians, were intercepted by the Æginetæ.

XCII. As Themistocles was engaged in the pursuit of a flying enemy, he came up with a vessel of Ægina, commanded by Polycritus, son of Crios, which was then attacking a vessel of Sidon. It happened to be the very ship which off Sciathus took Pytheas, the son of Ischenus, in a vessel of Ægina sent to watch the motions of the enemy. This man, almost expiring from his wounds, the Persians had preserved with great tenderness on account of his extraordinary valour; and when the Sidonian vessel with the Persians on board was taken, Pytheas was restored in safety to his country. Polycritus observing the Athenian vessel, which by its colours he knew to belong to the commander-in-chief, called out in a reproachful manner* to Themis-

* *In a reproachful manner.*]—The Athenians had accused the Æginetæ, and particularly Crius the father of this man,

tocles and bade him observe how the Æginetæ shewed their attachment to the Medes; at the same time he rushed on the Sidonian.

XCIII. The Barbarians, whose ships remained, fled to Phalerum, and joined the land forces. On this day, they who distinguished themselves the most were the people of Ægina, next to them the Athenians. Of the Æginetæ, Polycritus was eminent; of the Athenians, Eumenes of Anagyris, and Aminias of Pallene[83]. This last was the person who pursued Artemisia, and who would not have desisted till he had taken the enemy, or been taken himself, if he had conceived her to have been on board the vessel which he chased. The Athenian commanders had received particular orders with respect to her, and a reward of ten thousand drachmæ was offered to whoever should take her alive; it being thought a most disgraceful circumstance that a woman should fight against Athens. She however escaped as we have before described, as also did many others, to Phalerum.

XCIV. The Athenians affirm[84] of Adimantus,

---

of designing to betray their country to the Medes.—See book vi. chap. 49. To this unjust accusation Polycritus alluded in this sarcasm.—*T.*

[83] *Aminias of Pallene.*]—He was brother to the great poet Æschylus.

[84] *The Athenians affirm.*]—Dion Chrysostom relates, that

the leader of the Corinthians, that at the very commencement of the fight he was seized with a panic, and fled. The Corinthians followed his example. Arriving at the temple of Minerva Sciras[85], not far from the coast of Salamis, they met a little bark, which seemed as if sent by the gods: who actually did send it could never be discovered; it approached however the Corinthians, who were in total ignorance how things went, and when at a certain distance, some one on board exclaimed: "Adimantus, by thus flying

---

our historian not having received the compensation which he expected from the Corinthians, to whom he had recited what he had written in their praise, was induced to misrepresent their conduct, with that of Adimantus, on the day of Salamis. Plutarch pretends that Herodotus from malignity related the battle of Salamis in a manner disadvantageous to the Corinthians. If what was asserted by Dion Chrysostom were true, Plutarch would not have omitted it. I cannot prevail on myself to believe that our historian was influenced by either motive. I rather think he desired to gratify the Athenians, who were at enmity with the Corinthians. Plutarch with some reason opposes to Herodotus the silence of Thucydides, the offerings made at Delphi, the vow of the women of Corinth, and the inscriptions of Simonides, and some other poets, of which the historian could not be ignorant. I may add, that if Herodotus had felt the motives imputed to him by Plutarch and Dion Chrysostom, he would not have opposed to the recital of the Athenians the evidence of Universal Greece.—*Larcher.*

[85] *Minerva Sciras.*]—Salamis was anciently called Sciras, from some hero. Minerva was honoured by this name in that island, whence came the sacrifice called at Athens the Episcirosis, and the month Scirophorion.—*Larcher.*

"with the ships under your command, you must "be considered as the betrayer of Greece: the "Greeks however are victorious over their ene- "mies to the utmost of their hopes." Adimantus not giving credit to these assertions, it was repeated from on board the little bark, that they would agree to suffer death if the Greeks were not victorious. Adimantus therefore with his detachment made haste to rejoin the Greeks, but they did not come up till the battle was determined. This is what the Athenians affirm. The Corinthians deny the fact, declaring that no nation was more distinguished on this occasion than themselves; and this indeed the Greeks in general confirm.

XCV. Aristides the Athenian, son of Lysimachus, of whose integrity I have before made honourable mention, during the tumult of the battle of Salamis, rendered his country this service: taking with him a number of armed Athenians, whom he found stationed along the shore of Salamis, he landed on the island of Psittaleia, and put every Persian whom he found there to death.

XCVI. After the engagement, the Greeks collected all their damaged vessels at Salamis[86],

[86] *Salamis.*]—Amongst other rejoicings which celebrated

and prepared for another battle, presuming that the king would renew the fight with all the vessels he had left. At the same time a wind from the west, had driven on that part of the coast of Attica, which is called Colias, many wrecks belonging to the enemy. Thus the different oracles pronounced concerning this battle at Bacis and Musæus, were minutely accomplished, as was also the prediction of the Athenian Lysistratus, made many years before concerning these wrecks. It had long eluded the sagacity of the Greeks, and was to this effect:

" The Colian dames with oars shall roast their
" food[87]."

The above happened after the king's departure.

XCVII. When Xerxes discovered how severely

---

the victory of Salamis, I find in Athenæus the following anecdote of Sophocles. Sophocles, who had a very fine person, was also accomplished in the arts of music and dancing, which when very young he had been taught by Lamprus. After the victory of Salamis, he danced with a lyre in his hand round a military trophy erected by the conquerors. Some say that he was entirely naked, and anointed with oils; others, that he was in his clothes. When he exhibited his tragedy of Thamyris, he played on the citharis; and when his Nausicaa was performed, he discovered great activity in leaping with the ball—εσφαιρισεν.—*T.*

[87] *Roast their food.*]—This passage has greatly perplexed the commentators; in the Greek it is ερετμοισι φριξουσι, shall rage at the oars. Kuhnius reads φρυξουσι, which both Wesseling and Valcnaer approve.—*T.*

he had suffered, apprehending that the Ionians might induce the Greeks, or that of themselves they might be disposed to sail to the Hellespont and break down the bridge, he determined to seek his safety by flight. Desirous however of not being suspected in his design, either by the Greeks or his own troops, he made an effort to connect Salamis with the continent, joining for this purpose the Phœnician transports together, to serve both as a bridge and a wall. He then made seeming preparations for another naval engagement. His taking these measures caused it to be generally believed that he intended to continue where he was and prosecute hostilities. His real purpose did not escape Mardonius, who was well acquainted with his mind. Whilst Xerxes was thus employed, he sent a messenger to Persia with intelligence of his defeat[88].

XCVIII. The Persian messengers travel with

---

[88] *Defeat.*]—"I have been told by a Mede," says Dion Chrysostom, "that the Persians do not agree to what is reported by the Greeks. They pretend that Xerxes conquered the Lacedæmonians at Thermopylæ, and slew their king; that he made himself master of Athens, totally destroying it, and reducing all those Athenians to slavery who did not escape by flight; and that finally he returned to Asia, after having imposed a tribute on the Greeks. It is evident that this narrative is false: but it is not impossible, indeed it is very probable, that the king said this to the Asiatic nations," &c.—*Larcher.*

a velocity which nothing human[89] can equal. It is thus accomplished: as many days as are required to go from one place to another, so many

[89] *Nothing human.*]—Θνητον εον.—Valcnaer does not approve this reading. Surely, says he, the domestic pigeons, which we know were used for the purpose of conveying intelligence very anciently, travelled much faster. He therefore proposes to read ανδρηϊον or ανθρωπηϊον, human. Larcher replies to this, by saying, "that it is not probable that pigeons were used in the great roads where public posts were established, but rather in routes difficult of access for horses." This observation has no great weight; it is more to the purpose that he refers the reader to an expression of Herodotus, in the first book, where he calls the horse, παντων των θνητων το ταχιστον. I nevertheless prefer the conjecture of Valcnaer.

The regularity and swiftness of the Roman posts cannot fail of exciting the admiration of all who attentively consider the subject; they are thus excellently described by Gibbon:

"The advantage of receiving the earliest intelligence, and of conveying their orders with celerity, induced the emperors to establish, throughout their extensive dominions, the regular institution of posts. Houses were every where erected at the distance only of five or six miles; each of them was constantly provided with forty horses, and by the help of these relays, it was easy to travel a hundred miles in a day along the Roman roads." Mr. Gibbon adds in a note the following anecdote:

"In the time of Theodosius, Cesarius, a magistrate of high rank, went post from Antioch to Constantinople. He began his journey at night, was in Cappadocia (165 miles from Antioch) the ensuing evening, and arrived at Constantinople the sixth day about noon. The whole distance was 725 Roman, or 665 English miles.—See also *Libanius, Orat.* 22, and the *Itineraria*, p. 572—581.

The

men and horses are regularly stationed along the road, allowing a man and a horse for each day: neither snow, nor rain, nor heat, nor darkness, are permitted to obstruct their speed. The first messenger delivers his business to the second, the second to the third, as the torch is handed about among the Greeks at the feast of Vulcan. This mode of conveying intelligence the Persians call Angareïon.

XCIX. On the arrival of the first messenger at Susa, informing them that Xerxes was master of Athens, such universal transport prevailed, that the Persians strewed their public roads with myrtle, burned perfumes, and all were engaged in religious or private festivals; but the intelligence of the second messenger* excited universal sorrow; they tore their clothes[90], wept, and mourned aloud, imputing all the blame to Mardonius. They were not so solicitous about the loss of their fleet, as anxious for the person of their king; nor were their disquietudes calmed but by the arrival of Xerxes himself.

The mode adopted by Cyrus, as described by Xenophon, did not essentially vary from this of the Romans.—*T.*

* The great Frederick of Prussia once sent a dispatch to Berlin, to say he had gained a great victory. Just as they began their rejoicings came a second letter, to say that the battle was lost, and that Berlin must surrender.

[90] *Tore their clothes.*]—This was a custom of the Orientals, of which various examples occur in Scripture.—See also the Persæ of Æschylus, 53, &c.

C. Mardonius observed that his defeat at sea greatly afflicted Xerxes, and he suspected that he meditated to fly from Athens: he began therefore to be alarmed on his own account, thinking that as he had been the instrument of the king's commencing hostilities with Greece, he might be made the object of his vengeance. He thought it therefore preferable to attempt again the subjection of Greece, or in some great effort to meet an honourable death. His idea of conquering Greece prevailed, and after some deliberation, he thus addressed the king: "I would not, Sir," said he, "have you much afflict yourself concerning "what has happened, nor suppose that your re-"putation has sustained from it any considerable "wound. The ultimate success of our attempts "does not depend[91] on ships, but on our troops

---

[91] *Does not depend.*]—The following paraphrase on this speech of Mardonius by Mr. Glover, is one of the best passages in his poem:

Be not discourag'd, sovereign of the world!
Not oars, not sails and timber can decide
Thy enterprize sublime. In shifting strife,
By winds and billows governed, may contend
The sons of traffic; on the solid plain
The generous steed and soldier; they alone
Thy glory must establish, where no swell
Of fickle floods, nor breath of casual gales
Assist the skilful coward, and controul
By nature's wanton but resistless might
The brave man's arm, &c. *Athenaid.*

" and horses. They, who from their late ad-
" vantages, suppose all contest at an end, will
" not presume to leave their vessels to oppose
" you, nor will the Greeks on the continent dare
" to meet you in the field. They who did so
" suffered. With your permission, therefore, our
" future exertions shall be made in the Pelo-
" ponnese; or if you please for awhile to sus-
" pend your activity, it may securely be done;
" be not however disheartened, it is not possible
" that the Greeks should be finally able to elude
" the vengeance due to them, or to avoid being
" made your slaves. What I have recommended,
" you will find to merit your attention; but if
" you are determined to return with your army,
" I have other advice to offer. Suffer not, O
" king, the Persians to become the ridicule of
" the Greeks; you will not find us to have been
" the instruments of your losses; you have never
" seen us cowardly or base. If the Phœnicians
" Ægyptians, Cyprians, or Cilicians have behaved
" themselves ill, it ought not to be imputed to
" us; if the Persians therefore have not merited
" your censure, vouchsafe to listen to my counsel;
" if you shall not think proper to continue with
" us yourself, return to your country, and take
" with you the majority of your forces. Leave
" me here three hundred thousand chosen men,
" and I doubt not but I shall reduce Greece to
" your obedience."

CI. Xerxes, on hearing this, found his vexation suspended, and his tranquillity restored. He told Mardonius, that after taking advice on the subject he would give him an answer. Having consulted with some Persians whom he assembled, he determined to send for Artemisia, whose superior wisdom he had before had reason to approve. On her arrival, Xerxes ordered his counsellors and guards to retire, whilst he thus addressed her: "Mardonius advises me to continue here, and "make an attempt on the Peloponnese, urging "that my Persians and land forces have not been "at all accessary to the injuries we have sus- "tained, of which they desire to give me future "testimony. If I should disapprove of this, he "himself engages, with three hundred thousand "troops, to stay and reduce Greece to my power, "recommending me to retire with the rest of the "army to my native country. Do you therefore, "who with so much wisdom endeavoured to dis- "suade me from risking an engagement at sea, "tell me which of these measures you would "have me pursue?"

CII. The reply of Artemisia was to the following purport: "In a situation like the present, "O king, it is not easy to say what measures "will be best; but as far as I am able to discern, "I would recommend your return. Let Mar- "donius remain here with the number of forces

" he requires, as it is his own voluntary propo-
" sal to effect with these the accomplishment of
" your wishes. If he shall subjugate the coun-
" try, and effect what he promises, the glory
" will be yours[82], for your troops must be his
" instruments; if he should be disappointed and
" vanquished, while you are safe, and your family
" and fortunes secure, no great calamity can en-
" sue. The Greeks, as long as you shall survive,
" and your family remain, must be involved in
" many contests. If Mardonius shall fail in his
" attempts, and perish, the Greeks will have no
" great advantage to boast from the misfortunes
" or death of one of your slaves. You have
" burned Athens, which was the proposed object
" of your expedition, and may therefore return
" without dishonour."

---

[82] *The glory will be yours.*]—Thus in subsequent times did the emperors of Rome obtain ovations, triumphs, and an artificial reputation from the successful labours of their more bold and hardy lieutenants. " Under the commonwealth," says Mr. Gibbon, " a triumph could only be obtained by the general who was authorized to take the auspices in the name of the people. By an exact consequence drawn from this principle of policy and religion, the triumph was reserved to the emperor; and his most successful lieutenants were satisfied with some marks of distinction, which under the name of triumphal honours, were invented in their favour." Speaking of the emperor's lieutenants, in another place, he says, " they received and held their commissions at the will of a superior, to whose auspicious influence the merits of their action was legally attributed."—*T.*

CIII. Xerxes was delighted with advice so consonant to the secret wishes of his heart: for my own part, I am of opinion his terror was so great, that no persuasions could have prevailed on him to stay. Artemisia was dismissed most graciously from his presence, and directed to retire with the royal children to Ephesus, for some of the king's natural sons had accompanied him.

CIV. Hermotimus, a favourite eunuch of the king, and a Pedasian by birth, was sent to take care of them. The Pedasians[93] inhabit the district beyond Halicarnassus. It is affirmed of this people, that as often as they are menaced by any calamity, the chin of the priestess of Minerva produces a large beard; an incident which has happened twice among them.

CV. This Hermotimus revenged himself on account of the injury he had formerly sustained,

---

[93] *The Pedasians, &c.*]—See book i. chap. 175. Valcnaer is of opinion that the whole of this paragraph to the end of the chapter is spurious. It certainly has no business here, and if essential at all, would have more properly appeared in book vi. chapter 20. The strongest argument against its being genuine is, that Strabo seems to have known nothing of it; speaking as if he had only seen the passage in the first book to which I have referred the reader.—*T.*

with a severity, as far as I can learn, without example. He had been taken captive, and sold as a slave to a man of Chios[94], named Panio-

---

[94] *Chios.*]—Chios, and the islands in its vicinity, were famous for their purple. It was to Chios that Alexander, when he was revelling in Persia, sent for materials to clothe himself and his attendants with purple robes. It was produced from the purpura, called in Maccabees, chap. iv. verse 23, the purple of the sea.

"Then Judas returned to spoil the tents, where they got much gold and silver, and blue silk, *and purple of the sea*, and great riches."

See also Ezekiel, chapter xxvii. where the prophet, enumerating the merchandize of Tyre, says, ver. 7. "Blue and purple from the isles of Elishah was that which covered thee." By the isles of Elishah, I conceive the prophet to mean Lesbos, Tenedos, and the small islands near them. There were several species of the purpura, but the Pelagium and the Buccina were most valued.—See Pliny, l. ix. c. 33. From these two, separately, or combined, were produced the three kinds of purple most esteemed by the ancients. One was called πορφυρις, of a strong violet colour inclining to black; a second was called φοινικις, inclining to scarlet; a third αλουργις, azure or sky blue. Athenæus says, l. iii. c. 12, that the best and largest were found about Lesbos and the promontory of Lectus.

"By the discovery of cochineal," says Mr. Gibbon, "we far surpass the colours of antiquity. Their royal purple had a strong smell and a dark cast, as deep as bull's blood. In Rome, this was restrained to the sacred person and palace of the emperor, and the penalties of treason were denounced against the ambitious subjects who dared to usurp the prerogative of the throne."—See *Gibbon*, vol. iii. 71. Statius in the following passage seems to distinguish betwixt the deep and the blueish purple:

Quis

nius, who maintained himself by the most infamous of all traffic: whenever he met with any youths whose persons were handsome, he castrated them, and carrying them to Sardis or Ephesus, disposed of them at a prodigious price. Among the Barbarians, eunuchs [95] are esteemed of greater value than other slaves, from the presumption of their superior fidelity. Hermotimus was one of the great many, whom Panionius had thus

---

Quis purpura sæpe
Œbalis et Tyrii moderator livet aheni. *Syl.* i. 2. 150.

The best, or the Pelagia, were so called, because found in deeper waters.—See the *Schol. to Apollonius Rhodius*, l. i. v. 461. Εν βαθει της θαλασσης ευρισκεται. From this peculiarity of the purpura, the verb πορφυρεσκω was used for to meditate *profoundly*.—*T.*

[95] *Eunuchs.*]—Eunuchs were introduced in the courts of princes and the families of great men at a very early period, and of course became an important article of commerce. Black eunuchs appear to have been preferred, at least we find one in the court of Zedekiah.—See Jeremiah, xxxviii. 7.

"Now when Ebed-Melech, the Æthiopian, one of the eunuchs which was in the king's house, heard that they had put Jeremiah in the dungeon," &c.

Black eunuchs are still an article of great luxury in the east, and seldom found but in the seraglio of the Grand Signior, and those of the Sultanas. See Memoirs of Baron Tott, who represents their manners as always harsh and brutal.—See also *Harmer*, vol. iii. 328.

Eunuchs are found in the catalogue of eastern commodities, which, about the time of Alexander Severus, were made subject to the payment of duties; and Mr. Gibbon observes, that the use and value of these effeminate slaves gradually rose with the decline of the empire.—*T.*

treated. Hermotimus however could not be esteemed as altogether unfortunate: he was sent from Sardis to the king as one among other presents, and in process of time became the favourite of Xerxes above all the other eunuchs.

CVI. When the king left Sardis to proceed towards Athens, this Hermotimus went on some business to a place in Mysia, called Atarneus, inhabited by some Chians: he there met and remembered Panionius. He addressed him with much seeming kindness; he first enumerated the many benefits he enjoyed through him, and then proceeded to assure him, that if he would come to him with all his family, he should receive the most convincing testimony of his gratitude. Panionius listened to the offer with great delight, and soon went to Hermotimus, with his wife and children. When the eunuch had got them in his power, he thus addressed Paniohius: "The "means by which you obtain a livelihood is the "most infamous that can be conceived. How "could I, or any of my ancestors, so have in-"jured you or your family as to justify your "reducing me from manhood to my present con-"temptible state? Could you imagine that your "crimes would escape the observation of the "gods, who inspiring me with the fallacy I "practised, have thus delivered you into my "hands? Abandoned as you are, you can have

" no reason to complain of the vengeance which " I mean to inflict on you." After these reproaches, he produced the four sons of Panionius, and obliged the father to castrate them himself: when this was done, he compelled the sons to do the same to their father. Such was[96] the punishment of Panionius, and the revenge of Hermotimus.

CVII. Xerxes having sent his children to Ephesus, under the care of Artemisia, commissioned Mardonius to select from the army the number that he wished, and desired him to make his deeds correspond with his words. The above happened during the day; but on the approach of night, the king commanded the leaders of his fleet to retire from Phalerum, towards the Hellespont, with the greatest expedition, to protect the bridge, and secure his passage. The Barbarians set sail, but when they approached Zoster, mistaking the little promontories which rise above that coast for ships, they fled to a great distance. Discovering their error, they afterwards formed, and proceeded in a regular body.

CVIII. In the morning, the Greeks perceiv-

---

[96] *Such was.*]—

Qui primus pueris genitalia membra recidit
Vulnera quæ fecit debuit ipse pati.

Ovid. Amor. l. ii. e. 3.

ing the land forces of the enemy, on their former post, supposed their fleet to be still at Phalerum, and prepared for a second engagement. When informed of their retreat, they commenced a pursuit with the greatest eagerness. Proceeding as far as Andros without being able to discover them, they went on shore on the island to hold a consultation. Themistocles was of opinion that they should sail through the midst of the islands, continuing their pursuit, and endeavour to reach the Hellespont, and destroy the bridge. This was opposed by Eurybiades, who thought that the measure of breaking down the bridge would not fail to involve Greece in the greatest calamity. It was not probable, he urged, that if the Persian was compelled to stay in Europe he would remain inactive; if he did, his army would be in danger of suffering from famine, unable either to return to Asia, or advance his affairs; but if he should be earnest in the prosecution of any enterprize, he would have great probability of success, as it was much to be feared, that most of the cities and powers of Europe would either be reduced by him, or surrender previously to his arms; besides this, he would have a constant supply of corn from the annual produce of Greece: as therefore it was not likely that the Persian, after his late naval defeat, would wish to stay in Europe, it was better that his escape to his own country should be permitted. Here, he added, it will be after-

wards adviseable to prosecute hostilities. In this opinion the other leaders of the Peloponnese acquiesced.

CIX. Themistocles seeing his advice to sail immediately to the Hellespont, overruled by the majority, addressed himself next to the Athenians. They were more particularly exasperated by the escape of the enemy, and had determined to continue the pursuit to the Hellespont, even if unsupported by the rest of the allies. He spoke to them as follows: "I have myself been witness "of similar incidents, and I have frequently "heard it affirmed by others, that men reduced "to the extremest ebb of fortune have by some "succeeding efforts retrieved their affairs, and "made amends for their former want of vigour. "We Athenians have enjoyed this favourable vi- "cissitude; but although we have thus happily "defended ourselves and our country, and have "repulsed such an host of foes, we refrain from "the pursuit of a flying enemy; not that we "must impute our success to our own exertions; "we must thank the gods and the heroes who "would not suffer an individual marked by his "impiety and crimes to be the tyrant of Asia "and of Europe; a man who made no discri- "mination betwixt things sacred and profane; "who consumed by fire the shrines of the gods; "who dared to inflict lashes on the sea, and throw

"chains into his bosom. To us the present "moment is auspicious, let us therefore attend "to the interest of ourselves and families; and "as the Barbarian is effectually expelled, let "us severally repair our dwellings, and culti- "vate our lands. In the spring we will sail "to Ionia and the Hellespont." By this conduct, Themistocles intended to conciliate the friendship of the Persian, that in case of his becoming unpopular with his countrymen, he might be secure of a place of refuge. The event proved his sagacity[97].

CX. The Athenians, deluded by Themistocles, assented to his proposal; they had before thought highly of his wisdom, and the present instance of his prudence and discretion induced their readier compliance with his wishes. The Athenians had no sooner agreed in form to what he recom-

97 *The event.*]—It is a singular circumstance, which I do not remember ever to have seen remarked by any writer, that one of the motives which made Atossa urge on Darius to hostilities with Greece was, that she might have some Ionian female slaves, who were celebrated for their graces and accomplishments.—See Horace:

Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
Matura virgo, et fingitur artubus
Jam nunc, &c.

And the escape of Themistocles to Asia was in the habit of an Ionian female slave, concealed in a litter, by which means he with difficulty eluded the fury of his incensed countrymen.—*T.*

mended, than he dispatched a bark with confidential servants to inform the king of their determination, who were not to be prevailed on, even by torture, to reveal what was entrusted to them: among these was the slave Sicinnus[98]. On their arrival at Attica, Sicinnus left his companions in their vessel, and hastened to the king, whom he thus addressed: "Themistocles, son of "Neocles, and leader of the Athenians, of all the "confederates the most wise and the most va- "liant, has sent me to inform you, that willing "to render you kindness, he has prevented the "Greeks from pursuing you to the Hellespont, "when it was their inclination to do so[99], in "order that they might break down your bridge; "you may now, therefore, retire there in secu- "rity." Saying this, Sicinnus returned.

---

[98] *Sicinnus.*]—Plutarch says it was one of the king's eunuchs, found among the prisoners, named Arraces. But as Larcher justly remarks, Themistocles was much too wise to send a person of this description, who, if possessed of the smallest sagacity, could have forewarned Xerxes of the artifice of the Athenian commander.—*T.*

[99] *Inclination to do so.*]—Plutarch relates the matter differently: he makes Themistocles inform Xerxes, that the Greeks, after their victory, had resolved to sail to the Hellespont, and break down their bridge; but that Themistocles, zealous to preserve him, urged him to hasten to that sea, and pass over to Asia. In the mean time he raised perplexities and embarrassments among the allies, which retarded their pursuit.—*Larcher.*

CXI. The Greeks having thus declined to pursue the Barbarians, with the view of breaking down the bridge at the Hellespont, laid close siege to Andros, and determined totally to destroy it. These were the first of the islanders who had refused the solicitation of Themistocles for money. He had urged to them, that they were impelled to make this application by two powerful divinities, persuasion and necessity, who could not possibly be refused. The Andrians replied, that Athens might reasonably expect to be great and prosperous from the protection of such powerful deities, but that their island was of itself poor and barren, and had withal unalterably attached to it two formidable deities, poverty and weakness: that they, therefore, could not be expected to supply them with money: the strength of Athens, they added, could never be greater in proportion than their weakness. In consequence of this refusal and reply they were now besieged.

CXII. In the mean while the avarice of Themistocles appeared to be insatiable. He made applications to all the other islands also for money, using the same emissaries and language as before to the Andrians. In case of refusal, he threatened to bring against them the forces of Greece, and utterly destroy them. He by these means obtained from the Carystians and

Parians an enormous sum of money. These people hearing that the Andrians had been distressed, on account of their attachment to the Medes, and being informed that Themistocles was the first in rank and influence of all the Grecian leaders, were terrified into compliance. Whether any of the other islands gave him money or not, I will not take upon me to decide, but I am inclined to believe that some of them did. The Carystians, however, did not by their compliance escape the menaced calamity, whilst the Carians, by the effect of their bribes on Themistocles, avoided being made the objects of hostilities. In this manner Themistocles, beginning with the Andrians, extorted money from the islanders, without the knowledge of the other leaders.

CXIII. The land forces of Xerxes, after continuing on their former station, a few days after the battle of Salamis moved towards Bœotia, following the track by which they had come. Mardonius thought proper to accompany the king, both because the season of the year was improper for any farther military exertions, and because he preferred wintering in Thessaly, intending to advance to the Peloponnese on the commencement of the spring. On their arrival in Thessaly, the first care of Mardonius was to select, in preference to all the Persians, those called the Immortals, excepting only their leader Hydarnes,

who refused to leave the person of the king. Of the other Persians he chose the Cuirassiers, and the body of a thousand horse: to these he added all the forces, horse and foot, of the Medes, Sacæ, Bactrians, and Indians. From the rest of the allies he selected only those who were distinguished by their advantages of person, or who had performed some remarkable exploit. He took also the greater part of those Persians who wore collars and bracelets*; and next to these the Medes, inferior to the Persians in force, but not in number. The aggregate of these troops, including the cavalry, was three hundred thousand men.

CXIV. Whilst Mardonius was employed in selecting his army, and Xerxes was still in Thessaly, an oracle was addressed to the Lacedæmonians from Delphi, requiring them to demand compensation of Xerxes for the death of Leonidas, and to accept of what he should offer. A messenger was instantly dispatched from Sparta, who came up with the army, the whole of which was still in Thessaly, and being introduced to Xerxes, thus addressed him: "King of the "Medes, the Lacedæmonians and Heraclidæ of

* *Collars and bracelets.*]—As marks of royal favour, and rewards for service.—See an account of the royal gifts of Persia, in a note on the first book.

" Sparta[100], claim of you a compensation for the " death of their king, whom you slew whilst he " was defending Greece." The king laughed at this, and for some time returned no answer; till at length, turning to Mardonius, who stood near him, " This man," says he, " shall make you a " becoming retribution." The herald receiving this answer departed.

CXV. Xerxes, leaving Mardonius in Thessaly, hastened towards the Hellespont. Within the space of forty-five days he arrived at the place of passage with a very inconsiderable number of troops. But wherever these troops came, they consumed, without any distinction, all the corn of the inhabitants, and when this failed, they fed upon the natural produce of the earth, stripping wild and cultivated trees alike, of their bark and leaves, to such extremity of famine* were they come. To this a pestilence succeeded, which with the dysentery destroyed numbers in their march. Xerxes distributed his sick through the cities as he passed, recommending the care and

---

[100] *Heraclidæ of Sparta.*]—Herodotus expresses himself thus, to distinguish the kings of Lacedæmon from those of Argos and Macedonia, who also were Heraclidæ, that is to say, of the race of Hercules.—*Larcher.*

* This explains the mystery of the retreat. The followers of the camp had created a famine, as they generally do in Eastern countries.

maintenance of them to the inhabitants. Some were left in Thessaly, others at Siris in Pæonia, others in Macedonia. At this last place, on his march to Greece, Xerxes had left the sacred chariot of Jupiter, which he did not find on his return. The Pæonians had given it to the Thracians; but when Xerxes enquired for it again, they told him that the mares, whilst feeding, had been driven away by the people of the higher Thrace, who lived near the source of the Strymon.

CXVI. Here the king of Bisaltica and Crestonia, a Thracian, did a most unnatural action. Refusing to submit to Xerxes, he had retired to the higher parts of mount Rhodope, and had commanded his sons not to serve against Greece. They, either despising their father, or curious to see the war, had joined the Persian army. There were six of them, and they all returned safe, but their father ordered their eyes to be put out; such was the reward they received.

CXVII. The Persians, leaving Thrace, came to the passage, where they eagerly crowded into their vessels to cross to Abydos. The bridge of vessels was no more, a tempest had broken and dispersed it. Here meeting with provisions in greater abundance than they had enjoyed during their march, they indulged themselves so intemperately, that this, added to the change of water,

destroyed a great number of those who remained; the rest with Xerxes arrived at Sardis [101].

CXVIII. There is also another story.—It is said that Xerxes, leaving Athens, came to a city called Ëïon, on the banks of the Strymon. Hence he proceeded no farther by land, but entrusting the conduct of his forces to Hydarnes, with orders to march them to the Hellespont, he went on board a Phœnician vessel to cross over into Asia. After he had embarked, a heavy and tempestuous wind set in from the lake, which on account of the great number of Persians on board, attendant upon Xerxes, made the situation of the vessel extremely dangerous. The king, in an emotion of terror, enquired aloud of the pilot if he thought they were safe? "By no means," was the answer, "unless we could be rid of "some of this multitude." Upon this Xerxes exclaimed, "Persians, let me now see which of "you has an affection for his prince; my safety, "it seems, depends on you." As soon as he had

---

[101] Mr. Richardson, who rejects altogether the Grecian account of Xerxes, and his invasion of Greece, finally expresses himself in these strong terms:

"To sum up all; the expedition of Xerxes, upon the most moderate scale of the Greek writers, seems to be inconsistent with probability and the ordinary power of man. It is all upon stilts; every step we take is upon romantic ground: nothing seems wanting but a few genii, to make it in every respect an exceeding good Arabian tale.—*Dissertations*, 8vo. 316.

spoken, they first bowed themselves before him, and then leaped into the sea[102]. The vessel being thus lightened, Xerxes was safely landed in Asia. As soon as he got on shore, he rewarded the pilot with a golden crown, for preserving the life of the king; but as he had caused so many Persians to perish, he cut off his head.

CXIX. This last account of the retreat of Xerxes seems to deserve but little credit, for many reasons*, but particularly from this catastrophe of the Persians who accompanied the king. If Xerxes really made such a speech to the pilot, I cannot hesitate a moment to suppose, that the king would have ordered his attendants, who were not only Persians, but men of the

---

[102] *Leaped into the sea.*]—An anecdote not very unlike this, and particularly characteristic of the spirit of British sailors, is related of James the Second, when Duke of York. He was, by some accident, in imminent danger of being lost at sea, but getting into the ship's boat, with a select number of attendants, he, though with extreme difficulty, got safe to shore. The honest crew, when they saw his highness landed on the beach, gave him three cheers, and in a few minutes all went down, and perished.—*T.*

* The objection of Herodotus to the truth of this story, seems to be founded on not reflecting that the Phœnician rowers were much more essential to the safety of the vessels, than the Persians. If the Persian nobles were volunteers in the business, it shews the spirit of the nation, like the servants of the old man of the mountain: But the whole is a foolish story, introduced to calumniate Xerxes. A rational history of Xerxes is a great desideratum.

highest rank, to descend into the hold of the ship, and would have thrown into the sea as many Phœnician rowers as there were Persians on board. But the truth is, that the king, with the residue of his army, returned towards Asia by land.

CXX. Of this there is a yet stronger proof. It is well known that Xerxes, on his return to Asia, came to Abdera, with the inhabitants of which he made a treaty of friendship, presenting them with a golden scimitar, and a tiara richly embroidered. The Abderites assert what does not to me appear probable, that with them, Xerxes, for the first time after his departure from Athens, pulled off his garments, as being not till then released from alarm. Abdera is much nearer the Hellespont than Strymon and Eïon, where it is said he went on board.

CXXI. The Greeks not succeeding in their attempts upon Andros, attacked Carystus, and, after wasting its lands, returned to Salamis. Here their immediate care was to set apart as sacred to the gods, the first fruits of their success, among which were three Phœnician triremes. One of these was deposited upon the isthmus, where it continued within my memory; a second was placed at Sunium; the third was consecrated to Ajax, and reserved at Salamis. They then

proceeded to a division of the plunder, sending the choicest to Delphi. Here a statue was erected twelve cubits high, having in its hand the beak of a ship[103]: it was placed on the same spot where stands a statue in gold of Alexander of Macedon.

CXXII. After these offerings had been presented at Delphi, it was enquired publicly of the deity, in the name of all the Greeks, whether what he had received, was perfect and satisfactory to him. He replied, that from the Greeks in general it was, but not from the Æginetæ, from whom he claimed a farther mark of their gratitude, as they had principally been distinguished at the battle of Salamis. The people of Ægina, on hearing this, consecrated to the divinity three golden stars, which were fixed upon a brazen mast, in the angle near the cistern of Crœsus.

CXXIII. After the division of the plunder, the Greeks sailed to the isthmus, to confer the reward of valour upon him who should be judged to have been most distinguished during the war. On their arrival here, the Grecian leaders seve-

---

103 *Beak of a ship.*]—The first naval triumph at Rome was commemorated in a similar manner. A pillar, or rather trophy, was erected in the forum, composed of the beaks of ships taken from the enemy.—*T.*

rally inscribed their opinions, which they deposited upon the altar of Neptune. They were to declare whom they thought the first, and whom the second in merit: each individual inscribed his own name, as claiming the first reward; but a great majority of them united in declaring Themistocles deserving the second. Whilst each, therefore, had only his own suffrage for the first, Themistocles had the second place awarded him, by a great majority*

CXXIV. Whilst the Greeks severally returned to their homes, avoiding from envy to decide the question for which they had purposely assembled, Themistocles was not only esteemed, but celebrated through Greece as the first in sagacity and wisdom. Not having been honoured by those with whom he conquered at Salamis, he retired for this purpose to Lacedæmon: here he was splendidly entertained [104], and honourably

* Larcher on this passage makes the following quotation from Cicero:

"Academico sapienti ab omnibus ceterarum sectarum qui sibi sapientes viderentur, secundæ partes dantur, cum primas sibi quemque vindicare necesse sit. Ex quo potest probabiliter conjici eum recte primum esse judicio suo, qui omnium ceterorum judicio sit secundus."

104 *Splendidly entertained.*]—This was the more remarkable, and must have been a proof of the extraordinary regard in which the character of Themistocles was held, as it was

distinguished. The prize of personal prowess was assigned to Eurybiades; but that of wisdom and skill to Themistocles, and each was presented with an olive crown. To the latter they also gave the handsomest chariot in Sparta; they heaped praises upon him, and when he returned, three hundred chosen Spartans, of those who are called the knights [105], were appointed to attend him as far as Tegea. I know no other example of the Spartans conducting any person from their city.

CXXV. On his return from Lacedæmon to Athens, Timodemus of Aphidna, a man chiefly remarkable for his implacable enmity against Themistocles, denounced his visit to Sparta as a public crime. The honours, he said, which he had received at Lacedæmon, were not bestowed

---

contrary to the genius of the Spartans, and the inveterate prejudices of that people. While at Athens there were sometimes known to be ten thousand foreigners of different nations, all of whom were treated with hospitality and attention, strangers were discouraged from visiting Sparta, and if ever they ventured there, were considered as spies.—*T.*

[105] *The Knights.*]—The Greek word is ἱππεις; it nevertheless may fairly be doubted whether they served on horseback, or whether it was not a term of honour only. It is certain the country of Lacedæmon was ill adapted for cavalry; that Xenophon calls the few they had, πονηροταται; and that none but those who were wealthy possessed horses. See Larcher's elaborate note at this word.—*T.*

out of respect to him, but to Athens. Whilst he was continuing his invectives, "Friend," says Themistocles, "the matter is thus; if I had been "a Belbinite[106], I should not have been thus "distinguished at Sparta, nor would you, al- "though an Athenian."

CXXVI. At this juncture, Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, who had always had great reputation among his countrymen, and particularly from his conduct at Platea, accompanied the king with a detachment of sixty thousand men of the army which Mardonius had selected. When Xerxes had passed the Hellespont, and was arrived in Asia, Artabazus returned, and encamped near Pallene. Mardonius had taken up his winter quarters in Thessaly and Macedonia, and as he did not wish to have his camp enlarged by this additional number, Artabazus thought it expedient to take the opportunity now before him, of chastising the rebellious Potidæans. When the king was gone, and the Persian fleet had fled from Salamis, this people openly revolted from the Barbarians; they of Pallene had done the same.

---

106 *Belbinite.*]—In the beginning of the chapter, Herodotus tells us that this man was of Aphidnæ.—Wesseling thinks, that he might nevertheless be a Belbinite, though, when made a citizen of Athens, he was enrolled in the tribe of Aphidnæ.—*T.*

CXXVII. Artabazus therefore laid siege to Potidæa: distrusting the fidelity of the Olynthians, he attacked them also. "Their city was at this time possessed by the Bottiæans, whom the Macedonians had driven from the gulph of Therma. Artabazus having taken their city, put the inhabitants to death in a neighbouring marsh. The government of the place he gave to Critobulus of Torone: the Chalcidians thus became masters of Olynthus.

CXXVIII. Having taken Olynthus, Artabazus applied with greater ardour to the siege of Potidæa. He contrived to induce Timoxenus, the chief of the Scionæans, to betray the town into his hands. In what manner their correspondence commenced I am not able to say, I can only speak of the event. Whenever they wanted to communicate with each other, a letter was rolled round a notch in an arrow, and, giving wings to this letter, it was shot off to a place agreed upon. But the betrayer of Potidæa was ultimately detected: Artabazus directed an arrow to the concerted place, but it deviated from its direction, and wounded a Potidæan in the shoulder. A crowd, as is usual on such occasions, surrounded the wounded man, who seeing the letter connected with the arrow, carried it immediately to the magistrates, with whom their Pallenian allies were present. The letter was

read, and the traitor discovered; it was not, however, thought proper to inflict the deserved punishment on Timoxenus, out of regard to his country, and that the Scionæans might not in future be stigmatized as traitors: but it was in this manner that the treachery of Timoxenus became known.

CXXIX. Artabazus had been now three months before Potidæa, when there happened a great overflowing of the sea, which continued for a considerable time. The Barbarians seeing the ground become a swamp, retired to Pallene: they had already performed two-fifths of their march, and had three more before them, when the sea burst beyond its usual limits with so vast an inundation, that the inhabitants, who had often witnessed similar incidents, represent this as without parallel. They who could not swim were drowned; they who could, were killed by the Potidæans from their boats. This inundation, and the consequent destruction of the Persians, the Potidæans thus explain.—The Barbarians, they say, had impiously profaned the temple and shrine of Neptune, situate in their suburbs, who may therefore be considered as the author of their calamity, which to me appears probable. With the few who escaped, Artabazus joined the army of Mardonius in Thessaly, and this was the

fate of those who conducted Xerxes to the Hellespont.

CXXX. The remainder of the fleet of Xerxes, which flying from Salamis, arrived in Asia, after transporting the king and his forces from the Chersonese to Abydos, wintered at Cyma. In the commencement of the spring it assembled at Samos, where some other vessels had continued during the winter. This armament was principally manned by Persians and Medes, and was under the conduct of Mardontes, the son of Bagæus, and Artayntes, son of Artachæus, whose uncle Amitres had been joined to him as his colleague. As the alarm of their former defeat was not yet subsided, they did not attempt to advance farther westward, nor indeed did any one impel them to do so. Their vessels, with those of the Ionians, amounted to three hundred, and they stationed themselves at Samos, to secure the fidelity of Ionia. They did not think it probable that the Greeks would penetrate into Ionia, but would be satisfied with defending their country. They were confirmed in this opinion, as the Greeks, after the battle of Salamis, never attempted to pursue them, but were content to retire also themselves. With respect to their affairs at sea, the Persians were sufficiently depressed; but they expected that Mardonius would do great things by land. Remaining on their station at Samos, they consulted

how they might annoy the enemy, and they anxiously attended to the progress and affairs of Mardonius.

CXXXI. The approach of the spring, and the appearance of Mardonius in Thessaly, roused the Greeks. Their land army was not yet got together, but their fleet, consisting of a hundred and ten ships, was already at Ægina, under the command of Leutychides. He was descended in a right line from Menares, Agesilaus, Hippocratidas, Leutychides, Anaxilaus, Archidamus, Anaxandrides, Theopompus, Nicander, Charilus, Eunomus, Polydectes, Prytanes, Euryphon, Procles, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hyllus, and lastly from Hercules. He was of the second royal family, and all his ancestors, except the two named after Leutychides, had been kings of Sparta. The Athenians were commanded by Xanthippus, son of Ariphron.

CXXXII. When the fleet of the Greeks had arrived at Ægina, the same individuals who had before been at Sparta to entreat the assistance of that people to deliver Ionia, arrived among the Greeks. Herodotus, the son of Basilides, was with them; they were in all seven, and had together concerted the death of Strattes, tyrant of Chios. Their plot having been discovered by one of the accomplices, the other six had with-

drawn themselves to Sparta, and now came to Ægina to persuade the Greeks to enter Ionia: they were induced, though not without difficulty, to advance as far as Delos. All beyond this, the Greeks viewed as full of danger, as well because they were ignorant of the country, as because they supposed the enemy's forces were in all these parts strong and numerous: Samos they considered as not less remote than the pillars of Hercules. Thus the Barbarians were kept by their apprehensions from advancing beyond Samos, and the Greeks, notwithstanding the solicitations of the Chians, would not move farther eastward than Delos. Their mutual alarm thus kept the two parties at an equal distance from each other.

CXXXIII. Whilst the Greeks thus moved to Delos, Mardonius, who had wintered in Thessaly, began to break up his quarters. His first step was to send an European, whose name was Mys, to the different oracles, ordering him to use his endeavours, and consult them all. What it was that he wished to learn from them I am unable to say, for I have never heard; I should, however, suppose, that he only intended to consult them on the immediate state of his affairs.

CXXXIV. It is certain that this man went to Lebadia, and by means of a native of the

country, whom he bribed to his purpose, descended to the cave of Trophonius*; he went also to the oracle of Abas in Phocis; he then proceeded to Thebes, where, with the same ceremonies as are practised in Olympia, he consulted the Ismenian Apollo; afterwards he obtained permission by means of his gold, of some stranger, but not from a Theban, to sleep in the temple of Amphiaraus. No Theban is here permitted to consult the oracle; for when Amphiaraus had formerly submitted to their choice, whether they would have him for their diviner, or for their ally, they preferred having him as the latter. On this account no Theban is allowed to sleep in his temple.

CXXXV. According to the account given me by the Thebans, a remarkable prodigy at this time happened. Mys, the European, having visited all the oracles, came to the temple of Apollo Ptous. This, though so called, belongs to the Thebans; it is beyond the lake of Copais, at the declivity of a mountain near Acræphia[107]. When this Mys arrived here, he was attended by three

* For an account of the oracle of Trophonius, consult book i. c. 46, and for that of Abas also.

[107] *Acræphia.*]—From this place Apollo had the name of Acræphius.—*T.*

persons of the place, appointed for the express purpose of writing down the answer of the oracle. The priestess immediately made reply to him in a barbarous language[108], which filled those who were present, and who expected the answer to be given in Greek, with astonishment. Whilst his attendants remained in great perplexity, Mys snatched the tablets from their hands, and wrote down the reply of the priestess, which, as afterwards appeared, was in the Carian tongue: having done this, he returned to Thessaly.

CXXXVI. As soon as the oracular declarations had been conveyed to Mardonius, he sent Alexander the Macedonian, son of Amyntas, ambassador to Athens. His choice of him was directed from his being connected with the Persians by ties of consanguinity. Bubares, a Persian, had married Gygæa, sister of Alexander, and daughter of Amyntas: by her he had a son, who after his grandfather, by the mother's side, was called also Amyntas, to whom the king had presented Alabanda, a city of Phrygia. Mardonius was farther influenced in employing Alexander, from his being a man of munificent and hospitable spirit. For these reasons he deemed him the most likely to conciliate the Athenians,

---

108 *Barbarous language.*]—See chapter 18.

who were represented to him as a valiant and numerous people, and who had principally contributed to the defeats which the Persians had sustained by sea. He reasonably presumed, that if he could prevail on them to unite their forces with his own, he might easily become master of the sea. His superiority by land was in his opinion superior to all resistance, and as the oracles had probably advised him to make an alliance with the Athenians, he hoped by these means effectually to subdue the Greeks.

CXXXVII. Attending to this, he sent to Athens Alexander, descended in the seventh degree from Perdiccas, whose manner of obtaining the throne of Macedonia I shall here relate:— Three brothers, Gavanes, Æropus, and Perdiccas, sons of Temenus, fled on some occasion from Argos to Illyrium, from whence retiring to the higher parts of Macedonia, they came to Lebæa. Here they engaged in the service of the king, in different menial employments: one had the care of his horses, another of the cattle, the third and youngest, of the sheep. In remoter times, the families even of kings had but little money[109], and it was the business of the queen

[109] *Little money.*]—In the time of the Trojan war, the use of money was not known among the Greeks. Homer and Hesiod do not speak of gold and silver money; they express

herself to cook for her husband[110]. When the bread prepared by the younger domestic, Per-

---

the value of things by saying, they are worth so many oxen or sheep. They estimated the riches of a man by the number of his flocks, and that of a country by the abundance of its pastures, and the quantity of its metals. See the Iliad, vii. 466.—Pope's version:

> Each in exchange proportioned treasures gave,
> Some brass or iron, some an ox or slave.

Lucan attributes the invention of money (l. 6. v. 402.) to Itonus, king of Thessaly, and son of Deucalion; others to Ericthonius, king of Athens, who, as they say, was the son of Vulcan, and had been brought up by the daughters of Cecrops. Aglaosthenes (in Julius Pollux) gives the honour of this invention to the inhabitants of the island of Naxos. The more received opinion is, that Phidon, king of Argos, and contemporary with Lycurgus and Iphitus, first introduced the use of money in Ægina, to enable the people of Ægina to obtain a subsistence by commerce, as their island was so barren.

Neither gold nor silver were permitted at Lacedæmon. According to Athenæus, they gave the widow of king Polydonus, who reigned about 130 years before Lycurgus, a certain number of oxen to purchase a house. When Lysander plundered Athens, the Lacedæmonians began to have gold and silver, but only for public necessities, the use of it amongst individuals being forbidden on penalty of death.

Herodotus, l. i. c. 94, says, that the Lydians were the first who coined gold and silver money, and used it in commerce.

The treasuries of Crœsus contained gold and silver only in the mass. See Herodotus, b. vi. c. 125.

[110] For this note, see next page.

It

diccas, was baked, she always observed that it became twice as big as before; this she at length communicated to her husband. The king immediately considered the incident as a prodigy, and as foreboding some extraordinary event. He therefore sent for the brothers and commanded them to leave his territories. They told him, it was but reasonable that they should first receive what was due to them. Upon this the king answered, as if heaven-struck, "I give you "this sun," (the light of which then came through the chimney) "as proper wages for you." Gavanes and Æropus, the two elder brothers, on hearing this, were much astonished, but the younger one exclaimed, "We accept, O king, what you offer us:" Then taking the sword, for he had one with him, he made a circular mark

---

It does not appear that the Persians had money before the time of Darius, son of Hystaspes. See Herod. l. vi. 166.—l. ix. 40.

110 *Cook for her husband.*]—A shaik, who has the command of five hundred horse, does not disdain to saddle and bridle his own, nor to give him barley and chopped straw. In his tent his wife makes the coffee, kneads the dough, and superintends the dressing of the victuals: his daughters and kinswomen wash the linen, and go with pitchers on their heads, and veils over their faces, to draw water from fountains. These manners agree precisely with the descriptions in Homer, and the history of Abraham in Genesis.—*Volney.*

with it upon that part of the ground on which the sun shone, and having three several times received the light upon his bosom, departed with his brothers.

CXXXVIII. One of the king's porters informed him of what the young man had done, and of his probable design in accepting what was offered. The king was much incensed, and immediately dispatched some horsemen to kill them. In this country is a river, near which the posterity of those men who were originally from Argos, offer sacrifices as to their preserver. This, as soon as the Temenidæ had got to the opposite bank, swelled to so great a degree that the horsemen were unable to pass it. The Temenidæ arriving at another district of Macedonia, fixed their residence near the gardens, said to belong to Midas, the son of Gordius. In these a species of rose* grows naturally, having sixty leaves, and more than ordinary fragrance: here also, as

* Herodotus is the first author who makes mention of the double rose; and it is a curious fact, that the Rhodian and other coins which have roses on them, are distinguished by having five petals only. Some, however, have imagined, that what are called roses on these coins, may be the plants of the lotus.

Herodotus, it may be observed, speaks of the double rose, as if it were of great rarity.

the Macedonians relate, Silenus[111] was taken. Beyond this place is a mountain, called Bermion, which, during the winter, is inaccessible. The Temenidæ first settled here, and afterwards subdued the rest of Macedonia.

CXXXIX. From the above Perdiccas, Alexander was thus descended: he was the son of Amyntas, Amyntas was the son of Alcetas, Alcetas of Æropus, Æropus of Philip, Philip of Argæus, Argæus of Perdiccas, who obtained the kingdom.

CXL. When Alexander arrived at Athens, as

---

[111] *Silenus.*]—Most authors affirm that he was a satyr: some confound the Sileni with the satyrs. Marsyas is called Silenus by some writers, and a satyr by others. There was certainly a difference betwixt them; the Sileni were the elder satyrs.—*Larcher.*

According to Pausanias, book i. c. 23, the eldest of the satyrs were called Sileni—τους γαρ ηλικιᾳ των σατυρων προηκοντας ονομαζουσι Σειληνους.

If the Sileni differed only from the satyrs in age, it is not at all wonderful that authors have confounded them.

We learn from the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, l. iv. 460, that there was a people of Arabia called Selenitæ. It has been said that this name was taken by the Arcadians, to confront the vain boast of the Athenians; see book vii. I think that the name Sileni was assumed by the Arcadians before they began to dispute antiquity with the Athenians. A principal part of their possessions in Asia was called Salonum, and the cheese there made Caseus Salonites, words not unlike Silenus and Selenitæ. The name is preserved in Silenus, the usual companion of Pan.—*T.*

deputed by Mardonius, he delivered the following speech: "Men of Athens, Mardonius informs you by me, that he has received a commission from the king of the following import: 'Whatever injuries the Athenians may have done me, I willingly forgive: return them therefore their country; let them add to it from any other they may prefer, and let them enjoy their own laws. If they will consent to enter into an alliance with me, you have my orders to rebuild all their temples, which I have burned.'—It will be my business to do all this unless you prevent me: I will now give you my own sentiments: What infatuation can induce you to continue your hostilities against a king to whom you can never be superior, and whom you cannot always resist? you already know the forces and exploits of Xerxes; neither can you be ignorant of the army under me. If you should even repel and conquer us, of which if you be wise you can indulge no hope, another army not inferior in strength will soon succeed ours. Do not, therefore, by endeavouring to render yourselves equal to so great a king, risk not only the loss of your native country, but the security of your persons: accept, therefore, of our friendship, and avail yourselves of the present honourable opportunity of averting the indignation of Xerxes.—Be free, and let us

" mutually enter into a solemn alliance, without " fraud or treachery. Hitherto, O Athenians, " I have used the sentiments and language of " Mardonius; for my own part it cannot be ne- " cessary to repeat what partiality I bear you, " since you have experienced proofs of it before. " Accept, therefore, the terms which Mardonius " offers you; you cannot always continue your " opposition to Xerxes; if I thought you could, " you would not now have seen me. The power " of the king is prodigious[112], and extensive be- " yond that of any human being. If you shall " refuse to accede to the advantageous proposals " which are made you, I cannot but be greatly " alarmed for your safety, who are so much " more exposed to danger than the rest of the " confederates, and who, possessing the region " betwixt the two armies, must be involved in " certain ruin. Let, then, my offers prevail with " you as their importance merit, for to you alone " of all the Greeks, the king forgives the in- " juries he has sustained, wishing to become your " friend."

CXLI. The Lacedæmonians having heard that this prince was gone to Athens to invite the

---

112 *Prodigious.*]—As the word χειρ is used in Greek, so is *manus* in Latin.

An nescis longas regibus esse manus.—*Larcher.*

Athenians to an alliance with the Persian, were exceedingly alarmed. They could not forget the oracle which foretold, that they, with the rest of the Dorians, should be driven from the Peloponnese by a junction of the Medes with the Athenians, to whom therefore they lost no time in sending ambassadors. These were present at the Athenian council, for the Athenians had endeavoured to gain time, well knowing that the Lacedæmonians would learn that an ambassador was come to invite them to a confederacy with the Persians, and would consequently send deputies to be present on the occasion; they therefore deferred the meeting, that the Lacedæmonians might be present at the declaration of their sentiments.

CXLII. When Alexander had finished speaking, the Spartan envoys made this immediate reply: "We have been deputed by the Spartans, "to entreat you not to engage in any thing "which may operate to the injury of our com- "mon country, nor listen to any propositions of "Xerxes; such a conduct would not be equi- "table in itself, and would be particularly base "in you, from various reasons: you were the "first promoters of this war, in opposition to "our opinion; it was first of all commenced in "vindication of your liberties, though all Greece "was afterwards drawn into the contest. It will

" be most of all intolerable, that the Athenians " should become the instruments of enslaving " Greece, who from times the most remote, have " restored their liberties to many. Your pre- " sent condition does not fail to excite in us " sentiments of the sincerest pity, who, for two " successive seasons, have been deprived of the " produce of your lands, and have so long seen " your mansions in ruin. From reflecting on " your situation, we Spartans, in conjunction " with your other allies, undertake to maintain, " as long as the war shall continue, not only " your wives, but such other parts of your fa- " milies as are incapable of military service. " Let not, therefore, this Macedonian Alexan- " der, softening the sentiments of Mardonius, " seduce you: the part he acts is consistent; " a tyrant himself, he espouses the interests of " a tyrant. If you are wise you will always re- " member, that the Barbarians are invariably false " and faithless."

CXLIII. After the above address of the Spartans, the Athenians made this reply to Alexander: " It was not at all necessary for you to " inform us, that the power of the Persians was " superior to our own: nevertheless, in defence of " our liberties, we will continue our resistance " to the utmost of our abilities. You may be " assured that your endeavours to persuade us

"into an alliance with the Barbarians never will "succeed: tell, therefore, Mardonius, on the part "of the Athenians, that as long as the sun shall "continue its ordinary course, so long will we "avoid any friendship with Xerxes, and so long "will we continue to resist him. Tell him, we "shall always look with confidence to the protect- "ing assistance of those gods and heroes whose "shrines and temples he has contemptuously "destroyed. Hereafter do not you presume to "enter an Athenian assembly with overtures of "this kind, lest whilst you appear to mean "us well, you prompt us to do what is abo- "minable[113]. We are unwilling that you should "receive any injury from us, having been our "guest and our friend."

CXLIV. The above was the answer given to Alexander; after which the Athenians thus spoke to the Lacedæmonians: "That the Spartans "should fear our entering into an alliance with "the Barbarians seems natural enough; but in "doing this, as you have had sufficient testi-

---

[113] *What is abominable.*]—"Our ancestors so loved their country," says Lycurgus, "that they were very near stoning Alexander, the ambassador of Xerxes, and formerly their friend, because he required of them earth and water."

It was the circumstance of their being united to him by the ties of hospitality, which induced the Athenians to spare his life. See my note on the ancient rites of hospitality.—*T.*

" monies of Athenian firmness, you certainly did " us injury. There is not upon earth a quan- " tity of gold, nor any country so rich or so " beautiful, as to seduce us to take part with the " Medes, or to act injuriously to the liberties of " Greece. If of ourselves we were so inclined, " there still exist many important circumstances " to deter us: in the first place, and what is of " all motives the most powerful, the shrines and " temples of our deities, consumed by fire, and " levelled with the ground, prompt us to the " prosecution of a just revenge, and manifestly " compel us to reject every idea of forming an " alliance with him, who perpetrated these im- " pieties. In the next place, our common con- " sanguinity, our using the same language, our " worship of the same divinities, and our prac- " tice of the same religious ceremonies, render " it impossible that the Athenians should prove " perfidious. If you knew it not before, be " satisfied now, that as long as one Athenian " shall survive, we will not be friends with " Xerxes; in the mean time, your interest in " our fortunes, your concern for the ruin of our " mansions, and your offers to provide for the " maintenance of our families, demand our gra- " titude, and may be considered as the perfec- " tion of generosity. We will, however, bear " our misfortunes as we may be able, and not " be troublesome to you; be it your care to

" bring your forces into the field as expeditiously
" as possible; it is not probable that the Bar-
" barian will long defer his invasion of our coun-
" try, he will be upon us as soon as he shall be
" informed that we have rejected his proposals:
" before he shall be able to penetrate into Attica,
" it becomes us to advance to the assistance of
" Bœotia."

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

HERODOTUS.

BOOK IX.

CALLIOPE.

CHAP. I.

ON receiving this answer from the Athenians, the ambassadors returned to Sparta. As soon as Mardonius heard from Alexander the determination of the Athenians, he moved from Thessaly, directing by rapid marches his course towards Athens. Wherever he came, he furnished himself with supplies of troops. The princes of Thessaly were so far from repenting of the part they had taken, that they endeavoured still more to animate Mardonius. Of these,

Thorax[1] of Larissæ[2], who had attended Xerxes in his flight, now openly conducted Mardonius into Greece.

II. As soon as the army in its progress arrived at Bœotia, the Thebans received Mardonius. They endeavoured to persuade him to fix his station where he was, assuring him, that a place more convenient for a camp, or better adapted for the accomplishment of his purpose, could not be found*. They told him, that by staying here he might subdue the Greeks without a battle. He might be satisfied, they added, from his former experience, that as long as the Greeks were united, it would be impossible for any body of men to subdue them. "If," said they, "you "will be directed by our advice, you will be "able, without difficulty, to counteract their "wisest counsels. Send a sum of money to the

---

1 *Thorax.*]—He was the son of Aleuas, and with his two brothers Eurypylus and Thrasydeius, were remarkable for their attachment to Xerxes.—*T.*

2 *Larissæ.*]—There were several cities of this name in Asia and in Europe. Strabo remarks, that it was something peculiar to the Larissæi, both of Europe and Asia, that the ground or soil of their settlements was alike in three places, at the rivers Cayster, Hermus, and Peneus. It was γη ποταμοχωσος, land thrown up by the river.

* Probably because they knew that the region of Attica was not well adapted to the movements of cavalry.

" most powerful men in each city: you will thus
" create anarchy in Greece, and by the assistance
" of your partisans, easily overcome all oppo-
" sition."

III. This was the advice of the Thebans, which Mardonius was prevented from following[3], partly by his earnest desire of becoming a second time master of Athens, and partly by his pride. He was also anxious to inform the king at Sardis, by means of fires[4] dispersed at certain distances along the islands, that he had taken Athens. Proceeding therefore to Attica, he found it totally

---

3 *From following.*]—Diodorus Siculus assures us on the contrary, that Mardonius, whilst in Bœotia, did actually send money to the Peloponnese, to detach the principal cities from the league.

4 *Fires.*]—I have before spoken on this subject, and informed my reader, how in remoter times intelligence of extraordinary events was communicated from one place to another by reason of fires. The word here is πυρσοισι, which Larcher renders torches, and adds in a note the following particulars:

" Men placed at different distances gave notice of whatever happened. The first who saw any thing gave warning of it by holding up lighted torches; the second held up as many torches as he had seen; the third and the rest did the same: by which means intelligence was communicated to a great distance in a short space of time."—*T.*

Larcher had his information about the signals by fire from Onosander Strategus,

deserted; the inhabitants, as he was informed, being either at Salamis or on board the fleet. He then took possession of Athens a second time, ten months after its capture by Xerxes.

IV. Whilst he continued at Athens, he dispatched to Salamis, Murichides, a native of the Hellespont, with the same propositions that Alexander the Macedonian had before made to the Athenians. He sent this second time, not that he was ignorant of the ill-will of the Athenians towards him; but because he hoped, that seeing Attica effectually subject to his power, their firmness would relax.

V. Murichides went to the council, and delivered the sentiments of Mardonius. A senator named Lycidas gave his opinion, that the terms offered by Murichides were such as it became them to listen to, and communicate to the people; he said this, either from conviction, or seduced by the gold of Mardonius; but he had no sooner thus expressed himself, than both the Athenians who heard him, and those who were without, rushed with indignation upon him, and stoned him[5] to death. They dismissed Murichides with-

[5] *Stoned him.*]—A man of the name of Cyrsilus had ten months before met a similar fate, for having advised the people to stay in their city and receive Xerxes. The Athenian women in like manner stoned his wife. Cicero

out injury. The Athenian women soon heard of the tumult which had been excited at Salamis on account of Lycidas, when in a body mutually stimulating each other, they ran impetuously to his house, and stoned his wife and his children.

VI. These were the inducements with the Athenians for returning to Salamis: as long as they entertained any expectation of assistance from the Peloponnese, they staid in Attica; but when they found their allies careless and inactive, and that Mardonius was already in Bœotia, they removed with all their effects to Salamis. At the

---

mentions the same fact, probably from Demosthenes.—See *Demost. Orat. pro Corona.—Larcher.*

The stoning a person to death was in remoter times not only resorted to by the people, to gratify their fury against an obnoxious character, but it had the sanction of law, and was a punishment annexed to more enormous crimes. The extreme barbarity of it is too obvious to require discussion; we accordingly find it gradually disused as civilization extended its powerful influence. Within these last centuries, in all the distractions of civil, or the tumults occasioned by religious fanaticism, we meet with no example of any one's being stoned to death. A modern traveller informs us, that lapidation, or stoning to death, is a punishment at this time inflicted in Abyssinia, for crimes against religion.—*T.*

Very soon after the first edition of this work was published, the women of Paris, better distinguished by the name of Poissardes, in every particular imitated this brutality, and whoever differed with them in opinion were exposed to the danger of the *Lanterne.*

same time they sent envoys to Lacedæmon, to complain that the Spartans, instead of advancing with them to meet the Barbarian in Bœotia, had suffered him to enter Attica. They told them by what liberal offers the Persian had invited them to his friendship; and they forewarned them, that if they were not speedy in their communication of assistance, the Athenians must seek some other remedy. The Lacedæmonians were then celebrating what are called the Hyacinthia[6], which solemnity they deem of the highest importance; they were also at work upon the wall of the Isthmus, the battlements of which were already erected.

VII. The Athenian deputies, accompanied by those of Megara and Platæa, arrived at Lacedæmon, and being introduced to the Ephori[7], thus addressed them; "We have to inform you, on

---

[6] *Hyacinthia.*]—A particular description of this solemnity is given by Athenæus in his fourth book. They were celebrated in memory of the beautiful Hyacinthus, whose story must be sufficiently familiar; and they were accompanied by games in honour of Apollo. They continued three days, and were exhibited at Amyclæ, in Laconia.—*T.*

[7] *Ephori.*]—Of the Ephori I have before spoken at some length, but I omitted to mention that the principal Ephorus was called Eponymus, as the principal Archon was at Athens, and for the same reason, because from him the year was named *εφορεύοντος του δεινα.*—*T.*

"the part of the Athenians, that the king of the
"Medes has expressed himself willing to restore
"us our country, and to form an alliance with
"us on equitable terms, without fraud or collu-
"sion: he has also engaged to give us any other
"country which we may choose in addition to
"our own. We, however, though deserted and
"betrayed by the Greeks, have steadily refused
"all his offers, through reverence for the Gre-
"cian Jupiter[8], and from detestation of the
"crime of treachery to our countrymen. We
"are sensible that it would be more to our
"advantage to accept the Barbarian's offered
"friendship, than to continue the object of his
"hostilities; we shall however be very unwilling
"to do so. Thus far we have discharged our
"duty to the Greeks with sincerity and candour;
"but you, who were so greatly alarmed at the
"possibility of our becoming the confederates of
"Persia, when once you were convinced that we
"should continue faithful to Greece, and when
"you had nearly completed the wall on the
"Isthmus, thought no farther of us nor of our
"danger. You had agreed with us jointly to

---

[8] *Grecian Jupiter.*]—Pausanias in Corinthiis, c. xxx. speaks of a temple erected to this Jupiter on a mountain called Panhellenium: It was said to have been erected by Æacus. There was also a festival called the Panellenia, celebrated by an assembly of people from the different parts of Greece.—*T.*

" meet the Barbarian in Bœotia; but you never " fulfilled the engagement, considering the en- " trance of the enemy into Attica, as of no im- " portance. The Athenians therefore confess, " that they are incensed against you, as having " violated your engagements. We now require " you instantly to send us supplies, that we may " be able to oppose the Barbarian in Attica. " We have failed in meeting him in Bœotia: but " we think the plains of Thria[9], in our own " territories, a convenient and proper place to " offer him battle."

VIII. The Ephori heard, but deferred answering them till the next day; when the morrow came, they put them off till the day following, and this they did for ten days successively. In this interval, the Peloponnesians prosecuted with great ardour on the Isthmus, their work of the wall, which they nearly completed. Why the Spartans discovered so great an anxiety on the

---

9 *Thria.*]—This was a village in Attica.—See *Spon de Pagis Atticis.* Athens had ten gates, the largest of which, probably because the entrance to the city from Thria, were called Portæ Thriasiæ. See *Meursius, Atticæ Lectiones.* The same gates were afterwards called Dipylon.—See *Plutarch in Pericle.* Παρα τας Θριασιας πυλας αϊνυν Διπυλον ονομαζονται. It was also called the sacred gate, and was that through which Sylla entered from the Piræus. It was named moreover the gate of Ceramicus.—*T.*

arrival of Alexander at Athens, lest the Athenians should come to terms with the Medes, and why now they did not seem to concern themselves about them, is more than I am able to explain, unless it was that the wall of the Isthmus was unfinished, after which they did not want the aid of the Athenians: but when Alexander arrived at Athens, this work was not completed, although from terror of the Persians they eagerly pursued it.

IX. The answer and motions of the Spartans were finally these: on the day preceding that which was last appointed, a man of Tegea, named Chileus[10], who enjoyed at Lacedæmon greater reputation than any other foreigner, enquired from one of the Ephori what the Athenians had said; which when he knew, he thus addressed them: "Things, O Ephori, are thus circum-"stanced. If the Athenians, withdrawing from "our alliance, shall unite with the Persian,

[10] *Chileus.*]—Plutarch, in the Essay so often quoted, takes occasion in this place severely to reprobate Herodotus. According to the historian, says he, we are taught to believe, that if any private business had kept Chileus at home, or if the rights of private hospitality had not accidentally subsisted betwixt this man and some of the Ephori, the splendid victory at Platæa never would have happened. Surely it could not be necessary to inform a man of Plutarch's wisdom, that from causes equally insignificant, events not less important than the one here recorded have proceeded.—*T.*

" strong as our wall on the Isthmus may be, the " enemy will still find an easy entrance into " the Peloponnese. Let us therefore hear them, " before they do any thing which may involve " Greece in ruin."

X. The Ephori were so impressed by what Chilεus had said, that without communicating with the deputies of the different states, whilst it was yet night, they sent away a detachment of five thousand Spartans, each accompanied by seven Helots, under the conduct of Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus. The command properly belonged to Plistarchus[11], son of Leonidas; he was yet a child, and Pausanias was his guardian and his uncle*. Cleombrotus, the son of Anaxandrides, the father of Pausanias, died very soon after having conducted back from the Isthmus, the detachment which constructed the wall. He had brought them back, because, whilst offering a sacrifice to determine whether he should attack the Persian, an eclipse[12] of the sun had hap-

11 *Plistarchus.*]—This prince, according to Pausanias, died at a very early age, and was succeeded by the Pausanias here mentioned.—*T.*

* See book i. c. 71.

12 *An eclipse.*]—That an eclipse in the early ages of ignorance and superstition should be deemed an inauspicious omen seems very natural. A partial deprivation of light or heat,

pened. Pausanias selected as his assistant in command, Euryanactes, son of Dorieus, who was his relation.

XI. With these forces Pausanias left Sparta: the deputies, ignorant of the matter, when the morning came went to the Ephori, having previously resolved to return to their respective cities: "You, O Lacedæmonians," they exclaimed, "lingering here, solemnize the Hyacin- "thia, and are busy in your public games, basely "deserting your allies. The Athenians, injured

---

contrary to their ordinary experience, and beyond their ability to account for and explain, must to untutored minds have had the appearance of preternatural interposition, and have seemed expressive of divine displeasure.

Mr. Selden makes no scruple to assert, that the authors of the melancholy rites instituted in Phrygia, in honour of Adonis, had no other meaning than to represent thereby the access and recess of the sun. *Attes Hyes, Hyes Attes*, was the set form of exclamation used in these mysteries, which, as explained by Bochart, means, *tu es ignis, ille est ignis*, is consistent with Selden's opinion, and justifies us in concluding, that ignis, fire or heat, whether solar or any other, whether real or symbolical, was the chief thing intended and pointed at in these mysteries. Neither is it perhaps unworthy of remark, that Ezekiel was carried to the north door of the temple, to behold the women lamenting Thammuz or Adonis.

"Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house, which was towards the north, and behold, there sat women weeping for Thammuz."—*Ezek.* viii. 15. —*T.*

" by you, and but little assisted by any, will " make their peace with the Persians on the best " terms they can obtain. When the enmity " betwixt us shall have ceased, and we shall " become the king's allies, we shall fight with " him wherever he may choose to lead us: you " may know therefore what consequences you " have to expect." In answer to this declaration of the ambassadors, the Ephori protested upon oath, that they believed their troops were already in Orestium, on their march against the strangers[13]; by which expression they meant the Barbarians. The deputies, not understanding them, requested an explanation. When the matter was properly represented to them, they departed with astonishment to overtake them, accompanied by five thousand armed troops from the neighbourhood of Sparta.

XII. Whilst these were hastening to the

---

[13] *The strangers, &c. Barbarians.*]—I have before remarked, that the ancients used the word Barbarians in a much milder sense than we do. In the sense in which it is here used, it occurs in the following classical lines of Milton:

> High on a throne of royal state, which far
> Outshone the wealth of Ormus or of Ind,
> Or where the gorgeous east with richest hand
> Show'rs on her king *barbaric* pearl and gold,
> Satan exalted sat. T.

Isthmus, the Argives[14], as soon as they heard of the departure of Pausanias at the head of a body of troops from Sparta, sent one of their fleetest messengers to Mardonius in Attica. They had before undertaken to prevent the Lacedæmonians from taking the field. When the herald arrived at Athens, "I am sent," said he to Mardonius, "by the Argives, to inform you that the "forces of Sparta are already on their march, "and we have not been able to prevent them; "avail yourself therefore of this information." Saying this, he returned.

XIII. Mardonius, hearing this, determined to stay no longer in Attica. He had continued until this time, willing to see what measures the Athenians would take; and he had refrained from offering any kind of injury to the Athenian lands, hoping they would still make peace with him. When it was evident that this was not to be expected, he withdrew his army, before Pausanias and his detachment arrived at the Isthmus.

---

[14] *The Argives.*]—Eustathius in Dionys. informs us that Apis having cleared the Peloponnesus of serpents, named it from himself Apia. He was afterwards deified, and thence called Serapis, all which has a manifest allusion to the great idol of the Ægyptians. From these serpents probably this part of the Peloponnese was called Argus, for Argus, according to Hesychius, was used synonymously with Ophis, Serpens.—See Hesychius at the word Διχια. But this is mere conjecture.—*T.*

He did not however depart without setting fire to Athens[15], and levelling with the ground whatever of the walls, buildings, or temples, still remained entire. He was induced to quit his station, because the country of Attica was ill adapted for cavalry, and because in case of defeat he had no other means of escape but through straits, where a handful of men might cut off his retreat. He therefore determined to remove to Thebes, that he might have the advantage of fighting near a confederate city, and in a country convenient for his cavalry.

XIV. Mardonius was already on his march, when another courier came in haste to inform him, that a second body of a thousand Spartans was moving towards Megara. He accordingly deliberated how he might intercept this latter party. Turning aside towards Megara[16], he sent

---

15 *Fire at Athens.*]—The fate of Athens has been various. It was first burned by Xerxes; the following year by Mardonius; it was a third time destroyed in the Peloponnesian war; it received a Roman garrison to protect it against Philip, son of Demetrius, but was not long afterwards ravaged and defaced by Sylla; in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, it was torn in pieces by Alaric, king of the Goths, and is now as obscure and insignificant as it was once famous and splendid. When in its glory, the circumference of the walls of the city alone was seven miles and a half. Modern Athens is called Athini, and sometimes Setines.—*T.*

16 *Megara,*]—Was at the point of middle distance betwixt

on his cavalry to ravage the Megarian lands. These were the extreme limits, on the western parts of Europe, to which the Persian army penetrated *.

XV. Another messenger now came to tell him, that the Greeks were assembled with great strength at the Isthmus; he therefore turned back through Decelea. The Bœotian chiefs had employed their Asopian neighbours as guides, who conducted Mardonius first to Sphendaleas, and thence to Tanagra. At Tanagra, Mardonius passed the night, and the next day came to Scolos, in the Theban territory. Here the lands of the Thebans, though the friends and allies of the Medes, were laid waste, not from any enmity, but from the

---

Athens and Corinth: it took its name either from Megaras, a son of Neptune, or Megareus, a son of Apollo. It was the native place of Euclid the Socratic, and of Theognis. There was a place of the same name in Sicily. The Megara here mentioned retains its ancient name.—*T.*

This people enjoyed no great degree of reputation, as appears among other instances from an oracle preserved in Suidas, the purport of which is this:

You people of Megara are neither the third, the fourth, or even the twelfth in rank, in short you are good for nothing, *ουτ εν αριθμῳ*.

* How is this to be reconciled with the fact? for the Persians were at Delphi and in Phocis, which is much more to the west. Probably, says Rennell, Herodotus was speaking only of their progress from Attica.

urgent necessities of the army. The general was desirous to fortify his camp, and to have some place of refuge in case of defeat. His camp extended from Erythræ, by Hysiæ, as far as Platæa, on the banks of the Asopus. It was protected by a wall, which did not continue the whole extent of the camp, but which occupied a space of ten stadia in each of the four fronts. Whilst the Barbarians were employed on this work, Attaginus, the son of Phrynon, a Theban, gave a magnificent entertainment, to which Mardonius and fifty Persians of the highest rank were invited. They accepted the summons, and the feast was given at Thebes.

XVI. What I am now going to relate, I received from Tersander, an Orchomenian, one of the most esteemed of his countrymen. He informed me, that he was one of fifty Thebans whom Attaginus at the same time invited. They were so disposed at the entertainment, that a Theban and a Persian were on the same couch[17].

---

[17] *On the same couch.*]—The ancients, in more remote times, sat at table as we do. Homer represents people as sitting round a table. Yet the custom of reclining on a couch at meals must have been practised, very early, as is evident from this passage of Herodotus. The Romans also, in the earlier times of the republic, sat; and Montfaucon, expressing his surprise at this, enquires what could possibly induce the Romans, as they became more luxurious and

After the feast they began to drink cheerfully, when the Persian, who was on the same couch, asked him in Greek, "What countryman he was?" he replied, "An Orchomenian." "Well," answered the Persian; "since we have feasted "together, and partaken of the same libations[18], "I would wish to impress upon your mind some-

voluptuous, to adopt a custom much less convenient and easy. He proceeds to give the following reason from Mercurialis, who says, that they first began to eat in a reclining attitude when the use of the bath became fashionable; it was their custom to bathe before supper; after bathing to lie down, and have their supper placed before them; it soon became universally the practice to eat in that posture. Heliogabalus had his sleeping beds and table beds of solid silver.—See *Montfaucon*, vol. iii. 74. See also Harmer's Observations on Passages of Scripture, from which I extract the following:

"The Persian carvings at Persepolis frequently exhibit a venerable personage sitting in a sort of high-raised chair, with a footstool; but the later sovereigns of that country have sat with their legs under them, on some carpet or cushion laid on the floor, like their subjects. Two very ancient colossal statues in Ægypt are placed on cubical stones, in the same attitude we make use of in sitting." In like manner, we find the figures on the ancient Syrian coins are represented sitting on seats as we do.—*T.*

[18] *Same libations.*]—The Greek is ομοσπονδος, which perhaps might as well have been rendered drank of the same cup. This expression occurs with great beauty and effect in the lively allegorical description which Nathan gives David of his conduct. "It did eat of his own meat, *and drank of his own cup*," &c.—*T.*

"thing which may induce you to remember me, "and at the same time enable you to provide "for your own security. You see the Persians "present at this banquet, and you know what "forces were encamped upon the borders of the "river; of all these in a short interval very few "will remain." Whilst he was saying this, the Persian wept. His neighbour, astonished at the remark, replied: "Does it not become you to "communicate this to Mardonius, and to those "next him in dignity?" "My friend," returned the Persian, "it is not for man to counteract the "decisions of Providence. Confidence is seldom "obtained to the most obvious truths. A mul- "titude of Persians think as I do; but, like me, "they follow what it is not in their power to "avoid. Nothing in human life is more to be "lamented, than that a wise man should have so "little influence." This information I received from Thersander the Orchomenian, who also told me that he related the same to many, before the battle of Platæa.

XVII. Whilst Mardonius was stationed in Bœotia, all the Greeks who were attached to the Persians supplied him with troops, and joined him in his attack on Athens; the Phoceans alone did not: these had indeed, and with apparent ardour, favoured the Medes, not from inclination but necessity. A few days after the enter-

tainment given at Thebes, they arrived with a thousand well armed troops under the command of Harmocydes, one of their most popular citizens. Mardonius, on their following him to Thebes, sent some horsemen, commanding them to halt by themselves in the plain where they were: at the same moment, all the Persian cavalry appeared in sight. A rumour instantly circulated among those Greeks who were in the Persian camp, that the Phoceans were going to be put to death by the cavalry. The same also spread through the Phoceans; on which account their leader Harmocydes thus addressed them: "My friends, I am convinced that we are des-"tined to perish by the swords of these men, "and from the accusations of the Thessalians. "Let each man therefore prove his valour. It is "better to die like men, exerting ourselves in our "own defence, than to suffer ourselves to be slain "tamely, and without resistance: let these Bar-"barians know, that the men whose deaths they "meditate are Greeks.

XVIII. With these words Harmocydes animated his countrymen. When the cavalry had surrounded them, they rode up as if to destroy them: they made a shew of hurling their weapons, which some of them probably did. The Phoceans upon this closed their ranks, and on every part fronted the enemy. The Persians,

seeing this, faced about and retired. I am not able to decide whether, at the instigation of the Thessalians, the Phocæans were actually doomed to death; or whether, observing them determined to defend themselves, the Persians retired from the fear of receiving some injury themselves, and as if they had been so ordered by Mardonius, merely to make experiment of their valour. After the cavalry were withdrawn, an herald came to them on the part of Mardonius; "Men "of Phocis," he exclaimed, "be not alarmed; "you have given a proof of resolution which "Mardonius had been taught not to expect; "assist us therefore in the war with alacrity, "for you shall neither out-do me or the king in "generosity." The above is what happened with respect to the Phocæans.

XIX. The Lacedæmonians arriving at the Isthmus[19], fortified their camp. As soon as this

---

[19] *At the Isthmus.*]—Diodorus Siculus says, that the Peloponnesians, arriving at the Isthmus, agreed without reserve to take the following oath:

"I will not prefer life to liberty; I will not desert my commanders, living or dead; I will grant burial to all the allies who shall perish in the contest; after having vanquished the Barbarians, I will not destroy any city which contributed to their defeat; I will not rebuild any temple which they have burned or overturned; but I will leave

was known to the rest of the Peloponnesians, all were unwilling to be surpassed by the Spartans, as well they who were actuated by a love of their country, as they who had seen the Lacedæmonians proceed on their march. The victims which were sacrificed having a favourable appearance, they left the Isthmus in a body, and came to Eleusis. The sacrifices at this place being again auspicious, they continued to advance, having been joined at Eleusis by the Athenians, who had passed over from Salamis. On their arrival at Erythræ, in Bœotia, they first learned that the Barbarians were encamped near the Asopus; consulting upon which, they marched forwards to the foot of Mount Cithæron [20].

XX. As they did not descend into the plain [21],

---

them in their present condition, as a monument to posterity of the impiety of the Barbarians."

Lycurgus says, and with greater probability, that this oath was taken by the confederates of Platæa.—*Lycurg. contra Leocreton.* The oath is there preserved, but it differs in some respect; it adds, "I will decimate all those who have taken part with the Barbarians."—*Larcher.*

[20] *Cithæron.*]—This place was particularly eminent for the sacrifices to Bacchus.—See *Virg. Æn.* v. 301.

Qualis commotis excita sacris
Thyas ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho
Orgia, nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithæron. *T.*

[21] *Into the plain.*]—Plutarch relates some particulars previous to this event, which are worth transcribing.

Whilst

Mardonius sent the whole of his cavalry against them, under the command of Masistius, called by the Greeks Macisius. He was a Persian of distinction, and was on this occasion mounted on a Nisæan horse [22], decorated with a bridle of gold, and other splendid trappings. When they came near the Greeks, they attacked them in squadrons, did them considerable injury, and by way of insult called them women.

Whilst Greece found itself brought to a most delicate crisis, some Athenian citizens of the noblest families of the place, seeing themselves ruined by the war, and considering that with their effects they had also lost their credit and their influence, held some secret meetings, and determined to destroy the popular government of Athens; in which project if they failed, they resolved to ruin the state, and surrender Greece to the Barbarians. This conspiracy had already made some progress, when it was discovered to Aristides. He at first was greatly alarmed, from the juncture at which it happened; but as he knew not the precise number of conspirators, he thought it expedient not to neglect an affair of so great importance, and yet not to investigate it too minutely, in order to give those concerned opportunity to repent. He satisfied himself with arresting eight of the conspirators; of these, two as the most guilty were immediately proceeded against, but they contrived to escape. The rest he dismissed, that they might shew their repentance by their valour, telling them, that a battle should be the great tribunal to determine their sincere and good intentions to their country. —*Plutarch's Life of Aristides.*

[22] *Nisæan horse.*]—These horses are mentioned as remarkable for their size, in Thalia, c. 136. Strabo says, book the 11th, that they were used by kings, being the best and largest breed, Αριστοις ωσι και μεγιστοις; they are said to have been all of a golden colour, ειναι ξανθας πασας.—T.

XXI. The situation of the Megarians being most easy of access, was most exposed to the enemy's attack. Being hardly pressed by the Barbarians, they sent an herald, who thus addressed the Grecian commanders: "We Megarians, O allies, are unable to stand the shock "of the enemy's cavalry in our present posi- "tion: nevertheless, though closely pressed, we "make a vigorous and valiant resistance. If "you are not speedy in relieving us, we shall "be compelled to quit the field." After this report of the heralds, Pausanias wished to see if any of the Greeks would voluntarily offer themselves to take the post of the Megarians. All refused, except a chosen band of three hundred Athenians, commanded by Olympiodorus the son of Lampon.

XXII. This body, which took upon itself the defence of a post declined by all the other Greeks encamped at Erythræ, brought with them a band of archers. The engagement, after an obstinate dispute, terminated thus: The enemies' horse attacked in squadrons; the steed of Masistius being conspicuous above the rest, was wounded in the side by an arrow; it reared, and becoming unruly from the pain of the wound, threw its rider. The Athenians rushed upon him, seized the horse, and, notwithstanding his resistance, killed Masistius. In doing this, however, they

had some difficulty, on account of his armour. Over a purple tunic he wore a breast-plate covered with plates of gold. This repelled all their blows, which some person perceiving, killed him by wounding him in the eye[23]. The death of Masistius was unknown to the rest of his troops; they did not see him fall from his horse, and were ignorant of his fate, their attention being entirely occupied by succeeding in regular squadrons to the charge. At length making a stand, they perceived themselves without a leader. Upon this they mutually animated each other, and rushed in with united force upon the enemy, to bring off the body[24] of Masistius.

XXIII. The Athenians seeing them advance

---

[23] *In the eye.*]—Plutarch, in his Life of Aristides, says that Masistius was killed by a wound through the opening of his helmet.

[24] *Bring off the body.*]—This was considered as a high point of honour in ancient military service. Some of the finest passages of Homer are found in his descriptions of battles about the dead bodies of the slain. The superstitious ideas which prevailed, from the circumstance of a deceased relative's not receiving the rites of burial, are beautifully employed by Sophocles in his Antigone. It seems a very natural impulse, but I remember no other instance where the Persians appear to have been tenacious with respect to this prejudice. Their obstinacy on this occasion might increase in the proportion in which they saw it exercised by their adversaries. On the customs of the Persians, with respect to their dead, see book i. c. cxl. and note [185].—*T.*

no longer in successive squadrons, but in a collected body, called out for relief. While the infantry were moving to their support, the body of Masistius was vigorously disputed. While the three hundred were alone, they were compelled to give ground, and recede from the body; but other forces coming to their relief, the cavalry in their turn gave way, and, with the body of their leader, lost a great number of their men. Retiring for the space of two stadia, they held a consultation, and being without a commander, determined to return to Mardonius.

XXIV. On their arrival at the camp, the death of Masistius spread a general sorrow through the army, and greatly afflicted Mardonius himself. They cut off the hair from themselves, their horses, and their beasts of burden, and all Bœotia resounded with their cries and lamentations. The man they had lost was, next to Mardonius, most esteemed by the Persians and the king. Thus the Barbarians, according to their manner, honoured the deceased Masistius.

XXV. The Greeks having not only sustained but repelled the attacks of the cavalry, were inspired with increasing resolution. The body of Masistius, which from its beauty and size deserved admiration, they placed on a carriage,

and passed through the ranks[25], while all quitted their stations to view it. They afterwards determined to remove to Platæa; they thought this a more commodious place for a camp than Erythræ, as well for other reasons as because there was plenty of water. To this place, near which is the fountain of Gargaphie, they resolved to go and pitch a regularly fortified camp. Taking their arms, they proceeded by the foot of Cithæron; and passing Hysiæ, came to Platæa. They drew themselves up in regular divisions of the different nations, near the fountain of Gargaphie[26] and the shrine of the hero Androcrates[27], some on a gently rising ground, others on the plain.

XXVI. In the arrangement of the several na-

---

[25] *Through the ranks.*]—Thus in the twenty-second book of the Iliad, Achilles directs the body of Hector to be carried for inspection through the Grecian army:

Meanwhile ye sons of Greece in triumph bring
The corpse of Hector, and your Pæans sing;
Be this the song, slow moving toward the shore;
Hector is dead, and Ilion is no more. *T.*

[26] *Gargaphie.*]—This place is celebrated in poetic story for being the place where Actæon was devoured by his dogs.—*T.*

[27] *Androcrates.*]—Androcrates had been anciently a Platæan commander.

tions, a violent dispute arose betwixt the Tegeans and Athenians, each asserting their claim to one of the wings, in vindication of which they appealed to their former as well as more recent exploits. The Tegeans spoke to this effect: "The post which we now claim has ever been "given us by the joint consent of the allies, in "all the expeditions made beyond the Peloponnese: we not only speak of ancient but of "less distant periods. After the death of Eurystheus, when the Heraclidæ[28] made an attempt to return to the Peloponnese, the rank "we now vindicate was allowed us on the "following occasion: In conjunction with the "Acheans and Ionians, who then possessed the "Peloponnese, we advanced as allies to the Isthmus, encamping opposite to those who were endeavouring to return. At that time Hyllus "made a proposition not to risk the safety of "the two armies, but that the Peloponnesians "should select the bravest man of all their army "to engage him in single combat, upon certain "terms. The Peloponnesians assented, and an

[28] *Heraclidæ.*]—This speech of the Tegeatæ does not to me seem remarkably wise. They had better, I should suppose, have spoken but very tenderly of their exploits against the Heraclidæ in the presence of their immediate descendants, who to punish their arrogance might naturally enough assign the superiority to their rivals, although their pretensions were not so well founded.—*Larcher.*

"oath was taken to this effect: If Hyllus con-
"quered the Peloponnesian chief, the Heraclidæ
"should be suffered to resume their paternal
"inheritance; if Hyllus was vanquished, the
"Heraclidæ were to retire, nor during the
"space of one hundred years, make any effort
"to return to the Peloponnese. Echemus, the
"son of Œnopus, and grandson of Phegeus[29],
"our leader and prince, was selected on this
"occasion by the voice of all the confederates.
"He encountered Hyllus, and slew him. From
"this exploit, the Peloponnesians of that period
"assigned us many honourable distinctions which
"we still retain, and this in particular, that as
"often as any expedition shall be made by their
"joint forces, we should command one of the
"wings. With you, O Lacedæmonians, we do
"not enter into competition, we are willing that
"you should take your post in which wing you
"think proper; the command of the other, which
"has so long been allowed us, we now claim.
"Not to dwell upon the action we have recited,
"we are certainly more worthy of this post than
"the Athenians. On your account, O Spartans,
"as well as for the benefit of others, we have
"fought again and again with success and glory.

---

[29] *Phegeus.*]—Larcher, on the authority of Pausanias, proposes to read Cepheus, and I think it ought to be so. Cepheus was one of the Argonauts.

"Let not then the Athenians be on this occasion "preferred to us; for they have never in an "equal manner distinguished themselves in past "or in more recent periods."

XXVII. The Athenians made this reply: "We are well aware, that the motive of our "assembling here is not to spend our time in "altercations, but to fight the Barbarians; but "since it has been thought necessary to urge on "the part of the Tegeatæ their ancient as well "as more recent exploits, we feel ourselves "obliged to assert that right which we receive "from our ancestors, to be preferred to the Ar-"cadians as long as we shall conduct ourselves "well. Those Heraclidæ, whose leader they "boast to have slain at the Isthmus, after being "rejected by all the Greeks with whom they "wished to take refuge from the servitude of "the people of Mycenæ, found a secure retreat "with us alone. In conjunction with them we "chastised the insolence of Eurystheus, and ob-"tained a complete victory over those who at "that time possessed the Peloponnese. The "Argives, who under Polynices fought against "Thebes, remaining unburied [30], we undertook

30 *Unburied.*]—The sentiments of the ancients, with respect to the bodies of the dead remaining unburied, cannot

" an expedition against the Cadmeans, recovered " the bodies, and interred them in our country " at Eleusis [31]. A farther instance of our " prowess was exhibited in our repulsion of

---

be better expressed than in the following lines of Homer, which I give in the version of Pope. The shade of Patroclus, in the 23d book, thus addresses Achilles:

And sleeps Achilles (thus the phantom said)
Sleeps my Achilles, his Patroclus dead?
Living, I seem'd his dearest tenderest care;
But now forgot, I wander in the air.
Let my pale corpse the rites of burial know,
And give me entrance in the realms below;
Till then the spirit finds no resting place,
But here and there the unbody'd spectres chase
The vagrant dead around the dark abode,
Forbid to cross th' irremeable flood.
Now give thy hand: for to the farther shore,
When once we pass, the soul returns no more;
When once the last funereal flames ascend,
No more shall meet Achilles and his friend, &c.

Upon this translation of Mr. Pope I may be excused remarking, that in the fourth line, the expression, " I wander in the air," is not in Homer. Homer contents himself with saying, " You did not neglect me living, but dead." The seventh line also is not in Homer: " Till then the spirit," &c. it is implied perhaps, but certainly not expressed. It may seem cavilling to quarrel with the epithet " irremeable" in the tenth line: I can only say it is not in Homer, who merely says ὑπερ ποταμοιο, over the river. " For to the farther shore, when once we pass," in lines eleven and twelve, are not found in Homer.—*T.*

[31] *At Eleusis.*]—Pausanias, as well as Herodotus, asserts that these bodies were interred at Eleusis.—*Pausan.* l. i. c. 39.

" the Amazons[32], who advanced from the river
" Thermodon, to invade Attica. We were no
" less conspicuous at the siege of Troy*. But
" this recital is vain and useless; the people
" who were then illustrious might now be base,
" or dastards then, might now be heroes. Enough
" therefore of the examples of our former glory,
" though we are still able to introduce more and
" greater; for if any of the Greeks at the battle
" of Marathon merited renown, we may claim
" this, and more also. On that day we alone
" contended with the Persian, and after a glo-
" rious and successful contest were victorious
" over an army of forty-six different nations;
" which action must confessedly entitle us to the
" post we claim; but in the present state of
" affairs, all dispute about rank is unseasonable;
" we are ready, O Lacedæmonians, to oppose the
" enemy wherever you shall choose to station us.
" Wherever we may be, we shall endeavour to
" behave like men. Lead us on therefore, we are
" ready to obey you."

---

[32] *Amazons.*]—Concerning the Amazons, see book Melpomene, chap. cx.

See also Rennell on the Geography of Herodotus, p. 91 and p. 204.

* This is one other, among innumerable evidences, that the siege of Troy was universally believed in the remotest periods to have existed.

XXVIII. When the Athenians had thus delivered their sentiments, the Lacedæmonians were unanimous in declaring that the Arcadians must yield to the people of Athens the command of one of the wings. They accordingly took their station in preference to the Tegeatæ. The Greeks who came afterwards, with those who were present before, were thus disposed. The Lacedæmonians, to the number of ten thousand, occupied the right wing; of these, five thousand were Spartans, who were followed by thirty-five thousand Helots lightly armed, allowing seven Helots to each Spartan. The Tegeatæ, to the number of fifteen hundred, were placed by the Spartans, next themselves, in consideration of their valour, and as a mark of honour. Nearest the Tegeatæ, were five thousand Corinthians, who, in consequence of their request to Pausanias, had contiguous to them three hundred Potidæans of Pallene. Next in order were six hundred Arcadians of Orchomene, three thousand Sicyonians, eight hundred Epidaurians, and a thousand Trœzenians. Contiguous to these last were two hundred Lepreatæ; next to whom were four hundred Myceneans and Tirynthians. Stationed by the Tirynthians were in regular succession, a thousand Phtiasians, three hundred Hermionians, six hundred Eretrians and Styreans: next came four hundred Chalcidians,

five hundred Ampraciatæ, eight hundred Leucadians and Anactorians; to whom two hundred Paleans of Cephallenia, and five hundred Æginetæ, successively joined. Three thousand Megareans and six hundred Platæans were contiguous to the Athenians, who to the number of eight thousand, under the command of Aristides, son of Lysimachus, occupied the left wing at the other extremity of the army.

XXIX. The amount of this army, independent of the seven Helots to each Spartan, was thirty-eight thousand seven hundred men, all of them completely armed and drawn together to repel the Barbarian. Of the light-armed troops were the thirty-five thousand Helots, each well prepared for battle, and thirty-four thousand five hundred attendant on the Lacedæmonians and other Greeks*, reckoning a light-armed soldier to every man; the whole of these therefore amounted to sixty-nine thousand five hundred.

XXX. Thus the whole of the Grecian army

* Let it be remembered, to the honour of Greece, that on this occasion, the Greeks, whose number only amounted to 110,000, were opposed by 50,000 of their treacherous countrymen. Some noble sentiments of Rennell on the subject of this invasion of Xerxes, I have before quoted. See his Geog. of Herod. p. 320, 321, &c.

assembled at Platæa, including both the heavy and the light-armed troops, was one hundred eight thousand two hundred men; adding to these one thousand and eight hundred Thespians who were with the Greeks, but without arms, the complete number was one hundred and ten thousand. These were encamped on the banks of the Asopus [33].

XXXI. The Barbarian army having ceased to lament Masistius, as soon as they knew that the Greeks were advanced to Platæa, marched also to that part of the Asopus nearest to it; where they were thus disposed by Mardonius. Opposed to the Lacedæmonians were the Persians, who, as they were superior in number, fronted the Tegeatæ also. Of this body the select part was opposed to the Lacedæmonians, the

[33] *Of the Asopus.*]—An ingenious plan of this battle, which may give the reader a general idea of the respective situations of the two armies, may be seen in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis. In the description of places, every succeeding observation of different travellers confirms the fidelity and accuracy of Herodotus. On this subject Mr. Wood speaks thus: "I would not encourage that diffidence in Herodotus, which has already been carried too far. Were I to give my opinion of him, having followed him through most of the countries which he visited, I would say, that he is a writer of veracity in his description of what he *saw*, but of credulity in his relations of what he *heard*."—*T.*

less effective to the Tegeatæ. In making which arrangement, Mardonius followed the advice of the Thebans. Next to the Persians were the Medes, opposed to the Corinthians, Potidæans, Orchomenians, and Sicyonians. The Bactrians were placed next, to encounter the Epidaurians, Trœzenians, Lepreatæ, Tirynthians, Myceneans, and Phtiasians. Contiguous to the Bactrians the Indians were disposed, in opposition to the Hermionians, Eretrians, Styreans, and Chalcidians. The Sacæ, next in order, fronted the Ampraciatæ, Anactorians, Leucadians, Paleans, and Æginetæ. The Athenians, Platæans, and Megareans were ultimately faced by the Bœotians, Locrians, Melians, Thessalians, and a thousand Phoceans. All the Phoceans did not assist the Medes; some of them about Parnassus, favoured the Greeks, and from that station attacked and harassed both the troops of Mardonius and those of the Greeks who were with him. The Macedonians and Thessalians were also opposed to the Athenians.

XXXII. In this manner Mardonius arranged those nations who were the most numerous and the most illustrious; with these were promiscuously mixed bodies of Phrygians, Thracians, Mysians, Pæonians, and others. To the above might be added the Æthiopians, and those Ægyptians named Hermotybians and Calasi-

rians [34], who alone of that country follow the profession of arms. These had formerly served on board the fleet, whence they had been removed to the land forces by Mardonius when at Phalerum: the Ægyptians had not been reckoned with those forces which Xerxes led against Athens. We have before remarked, that the Barbarian army consisted of three hundred thousand men; the number of the Greek confederates of Mardonius, as it was never taken, cannot be ascertained; as far as conjecture may determine, they amounted to fifty thousand. Such was the arrangement of the infantry; the cavalry were posted apart by themselves.

XXXIII. Both armies being thus ranged in nations and squadrons, on the following day offered sacrifices. The divine on the part of the Greeks was Tisamenus, the son of Antiochus, who had accompanied the Grecian army in this character. He was an Elean, of the race of

---

[34] *Hermotybians and Calasirians.*]—See book Euterpe, c. clxiv. p. 165 and 168.

These were the only tribes of the Ægyptians who followed the profession of arms. The pilots and seamen formed a totally distinct class. The proportion of actual sailors on board the ships of the ancients, was very small; and probably their manœuvres, as they never went to any very great distance from shore, were not very complicated.

Jamidæ[35], and of the family of Clytiadæ, but had been admitted to the rights of a Lacedæmonian citizen. Having consulted the oracle at Delphi, concerning his offspring, the Pythian informed him he should be victorious in five remarkable contests. Tisamenus not understanding this, applied himself to gymnastic exercises, presuming that from these he was to expect renown and victory: becoming, therefore, a competitor in the Pentathlon, he carried off all the prizes, except that of wrestling[36], in which he was foiled by Hieronymus, an Andrian. The Lacedæmonians, however, applying the oracular declaration to Tisamenus not to gymnastic but military contests, endeavoured to prevail on him by money to accompany their kings, the Hera-

---

35 *Jamidæ.*]—The families of the Jamidæ, Clytiadæ, and Telliadæ, seem to have been all soothsayers, with some specific distinction. Cicero, in his book de Divinat. makes a difference betwixt the Jamidæ and the Clytiadæ.

Wesseling thinks the text of Herodotus is in this place corrupt. Of Jamus, the founder of this family, it may farther be remarked, that his mother being secretly delivered of him, concealed him among some rushes and violets, from whence he had the name of Jamus, Ἰον, Ion, signifying a violet. This is Larcher's account, who refers the reader to Pindar, Olymp. vi. ver. 90.—It nevertheless seems very far-fetched.—*T.*

36 *Except that of wrestling.*]—See Pausanias, l. iii. c. xi. where the same thing is said of this personage.

clidæ, as a leader in their warlike enterprizes. He, observing that his friendship was of importance to the Spartans, endeavoured to make the most of it; he told them, that if they would admit him to all the privileges of a citizen of Sparta, they might expect his services; otherwise not. The Spartans were at first incensed, and for a time neglected him; but when the terror of the Persian army was impending, they acceded to his terms. Tisamenus seeing them thus changed, encreased his demand[37], and insisted upon their making his brother Hegies also a citizen of Sparta.

XXXIV. In this conduct he seems to have imitated the example of Melampus, except that the one claimed a throne, the other the rights of a citizen. Melampus was invited from Pylos by the Argives, for a certain proposed compensation, to remove a kind of madness which prevailed among their women. The Argives, on

---

37 *Encreased his demand.*]—The story of the Sibylline books will here occur to the reader. A woman came to Tarquin with nine books of the oracles of the Sibyls, which she offered to sell: the king hesitating about the price, she went away and burned three of them, and then came and asked the same price for the remaining six: Tarquin again refused to accede to her demand; she accordingly went away, and burned three more, and returning, still asked the same price. The augurs advised the king to pay her, and preserve the books as sacred, which was done.—*T.*

his requiring half of their kingdom[38], disdained and left him: but as the disease continued to spread still farther among their females, they returned to him, accepting his terms: he observing this change, extended his views, refusing to accomplish what they desired, unless they would also give a third part to his brother Bias: the Argives, compelled by necessity, granted this also.

---

[38] *Half of their kingdom.*]—These men sometimes sold their knowledge at a very high price. There were diviners and soothsayers in all parts of Greece; but Elis of the Peloponnese was particularly remarkable for two families, the Jamidæ and the Clytiadæ, who for many generations transmitted the art of divination from father to son.—See *Cicero de Divinat.* I. i. c. 41.—*T.*

Melampus is thus mentioned in the Odyssey:

A wretch ran breathless to the shore,
New from his crime and reeking yet with gore;
A seer he was, from great Melampus sprung,
Melampus, who in Pylos flourish'd long;
Till urg'd by wrongs, a foreign realm he chose,
Far from the hateful cause of all his woes.
Neleus his treasures one long year detains,
As long he groan'd in Philacus's chains.
Meantime what anguish and what rage combin'd
For lovely Pero rack'd his lab'ring mind;
Yet 'scap'd he death, and vengeful of his wrong,
To Pylos drove the lowing herds along;
Then Neleus vanquish'd, and consign'd the fair
To Bias' arms, he sought a foreign air;
Argos the rich for his retreat he chose,
There form'd his empire, there his palace rose. *T.*

XXXV. In like manner the Spartans, from their want of the assistance of Tisamenus, granted all that he desired. He, from being an Elian, thus became a Spartan, and assisting them as a divine, they obtained five remarkable victories. The Spartans never admitted but these two strangers into the number of their citizens. The five victories were these: the first was this of Platæa; the second was the battle of Tegea, won by the Spartans against the Tegeatæ and the Argives; the third at Dipæa, against all the Arcadians, except the Mantineans; the fourth was over the Messenians at the isthmus; the last at Tanagra [39], against the Athenians and Argives, which completed the predicted number.

XXXVI. This Tisamenus officiated as the augur of the Greeks at Platæa, to which place he had accompanied the Spartans. The sacrifices promised victory to the Greeks if they acted on the defensive, but the contrary, if passing the Asopus, they began the fight.

XXXVII. Mardonius, though anxious to engage, had nothing to hope from the entrails,

[39] *Tanagra.*]—Thucydides, in his account of this battle, agrees with Herodotus, and says that the Lacedæmonians were victorious: Diodorus Siculus, on the contrary, represents it as doubtful.—*Larcher.*

unless he acted on the defensive only. He had also sacrificed according to the Grecian rites, using as his soothsayer Hegesistratus an Elean, and the most illustrious of the Telliadæ. The Spartans had formerly seized this man, thrown him into prison, and menaced him with death, as one from whom they had received many and atrocious injuries. In this distress, alarmed not merely for his life, but with the idea of having previously to suffer many severities, he accomplished a thing which can hardly be told. He was confined in some stocks bound with iron; but accidentally obtaining a knife, he perpetrated the boldest thing which has ever been recorded. Calculating what part of the remainder he should be able to draw out, he cut off the extremity of his foot; this done, notwithstanding he was guarded, he dug a hole under the wall, and escaped to Tegea, travelling only by night, and concealing himself in the woods during the day. Eluding the strictest search of the Lacedæmonians, he came on the third night to Tegea, his keepers being astonished at his resolution, for they saw the half of his foot, but could not find the man. In this manner Hegesistratus escaped to Tegea, which was not at that period in amity with Sparta. When his wound was healed he procured himself a wooden foot, and became an avowed enemy to Sparta. His animosity, however, against the Lacedæmonians proved ulti-

mately of no advantage to himself: he was taken in the exercise of his office at Zacynthus, and put to death.

XXXVIII. The fate of Hegesistratus was subsequent to the battle of Platæa: but at the time of which we were speaking, Mardonius, for a considerable sum, had prevailed with him to sacrifice, which he eagerly did, as well from his hatred of the Lacedæmonians, as from the desire of reward; but the appearance of the entrails gave no encouragement to fight, either to the Persians or their confederate Greeks, who also had their own appropriate soothsayer, Hippomachus of Leucadia. As the Grecian army continually encreased, Timogenides* of Thebes, son of Herpys, advised Mardonius to guard the pass of Cithæron, representing that he might thus intercept great bodies, who were every day thronging to the allied army of the Greeks.

XXXIX. The hostile armies had already remained eight days encamped opposite to each other, when the above counsel was given to Mardonius. He acknowledged its propriety, and immediately on the approach of night, detached

* Pausanias speaks of Timogenides and Attaginus, the most illustrious citizens of Thebes, as betrayers of their countr .

some cavalry to that part of Cithæron leading to Platæa, a place called by the Bœotians the "Three Heads," by the Athenians the "Heads of Oak." This measure had its effect, and they took a convoy of five hundred beasts of burden, carrying a supply of provisions from the Peloponnese to the army; with the carriages, they took also all the men who conducted them. Masters of this booty, the Persians, with the most unrelenting barbarity, put both men and beasts to death; when their cruelty was satiated, they returned with what they had taken to Mardonius.

XL. After this event two days more passed, neither army being willing to engage. The Barbarians, to irritate the Greeks, advanced as far as the Asopus, but neither army would pass the stream. The cavalry of Mardonius greatly and constantly harassed the Greeks. The Thebans, who were very zealous in their attachment to the Medes, prosecuted the war with ardour, and did every thing but join battle; the Persians and Medes supported them, and performed many illustrious actions.

XLI. In this situation things remained for the space of ten days: on the eleventh, the armies retaining the same position with respect to each other, and the Greeks having received considerable reinforcements, Mardonius became disgusted

with their inactivity. He accordingly held a conference with Artabazus, the son of Pharnaces, who was one of the few Persians whom Xerxes honoured with his esteem: it was the opinion of Artabazus that they should immediately break up their camp, and withdraw beneath the walls of Thebes, where was already prepared a magazine of provisions for themselves, and corn for their cavalry: here they might at their leisure terminate the war by the following measures. They had in their possession a great quantity of coined and uncoined gold, with an abundance of silver and plate: it was recommended to send these with no sparing hand to the Greeks, and particularly to those of greatest authority in their respective cities. It was urged, that if this were done, the Greeks would soon surrender their liberties, nor again risk the hazard of a battle. This opinion was seconded by the Thebans, who thought that it would operate successfully. Mardonius was of a contrary opinion, fierce, obstinate, and unyielding. His own army he thought superior to that of the Greeks, and that they should by all means fight before the Greeks received farther supplies; that they should give no importance to the declarations of Hegesistratus, but without violating the laws of Persia, commence a battle in their usual manner.

XLII. This opinion of Mardonius nobody thought proper to oppose, for to him, and not

to Artabazus, the king had confided the supreme command of the army. He therefore assembled the principal officers of the Persians and confederate Greeks, and asked them, whether they knew of any oracle predicting that the Persians should be overthrown by the Greeks. No one ventured to reply, partly because they were ignorant of any such oracle, and partly because they were fearful of delivering their real sentiments. Mardonius, therefore, thus addressed them: "As either you know no such oracle, or "dare not say what you think, I will tell you my "opinion, which I conceive to be well founded: "an oracle has said, that the Persians, on their "entering Greece, shall plunder the temple of "Delphi, and in consequence be destroyed. "Being aware of this, we will not approach that "temple, nor make any attempt to plunder it, "and thus shall avoid the ruin which has been "menaced: let then all those among you, who "wish well to Persia, rejoice in the conviction "that we shall vanquish the Greeks." Having said this, he ordered that every thing should be properly disposed to commence the attack early in the morning.

XLIII. The oracle which Mardonius applied to the Persians referred, as I well know, not to them but to the Illyrians and Encheleans[40]. Upon

[40] *Illyrians and Encheleans.*]—Pausanias, who describes

the event of this battle, this oracle had been communicated from Bacis:

" Thermodon's and Asopus' banks along,
" The Greeks in fight against Barbarians throng;
" What numbers then shall press th' ensanguin'd
" field,
" What slaughter'd Medes their vital breath shall
" yield."

These words, and others of Musæus like them, doubtless related to the Persians. The Thermodon flows betwixt Tanagra and Glisas [41].

XLIV. After Mardonius had thus spoken concerning the oracles, and endeavoured to animate his troops, the watches of the night were set. When the night was far advanced, and the strictest silence prevailed through the army,

with so much exactness the antiquities of Greece, does not (in Phocis) say any thing either of the plunder of the temple of Delphi, or of the calamities of the people concerned in it. Appian says, that the Antanians, who were an Illyrian nation, plundered this temple, and were destroyed by a pestilence. Something more to the purpose is found in Euripides: Bacchus discovers to Cadmus an oracle of Jupiter, which predicted to him, that when he should retire among the Illyrians and Encheleans, he should reign over these people, and that they should destroy a vast number of cities; but that after having plundered the temple of Delphi, they should have an unfortunate return. If we had the oracle itself, we might see in what manner Mardonius applied it to the Persians.—*Larcher.*

[41] *Glisas.*]—This place is indifferently written Glisas, and Glissas, and was anciently famous for its wine.

which was buried in sleep, Alexander, son of Amyntas, general and prince of the Macedonians, rode up to the Athenian outposts, and earnestly desired to speak with their commanders. On hearing this, the greater number continued on their posts, while some hastened to their officers, whom they informed that a horseman was arrived from the enemy's army, who, naming the principal Greeks, would say nothing more than that he desired to speak with them.

XLV. The commanders[42] lost no time in repairing to the advanced guard, where, on their arrival, they were thus addressed by Alexander: "I am come, O Athenians, to inform you of a "secret, which you must impart to Pausanias "only[43], lest my ruin ensue. Nor would I "speak now, were not I anxious for the safety "of Greece. I from remote antiquity am of "Grecian origin, and I would not willingly see "you exchange freedom for servitude: I have

[42] *The Commanders.*]—Plutarch, who mentions this interview, speaks only of Aristides. "A man on horseback," says he, "approached silently the Grecian camp, and addressing himself to the sentinels, desired to speak with Aristides, who came immediately."—*Larcher.*

[43] *To Pausanias only.*]—This account is more probable than that given by Plutarch, who makes Alexander say to Aristides, that he must not communicate the secret to any one.—*Larcher.*

" therefore to inform you, that if Mardonius and " his army could have drawn favourable omens " from their victims, a battle would long since " have taken place: intending to pay no farther " attention to these, it is his determination to " attack you early in the morning, being afraid, " as I suppose, that your forces will be yet more " numerous. Be, therefore, on your guard; but " if he still defer his purpose of an engagement, " do you remain where you are, for he has pro- " visions but for a few days more. If the event " of this war shall be agreeable to your wishes, it " will become you to make some efforts to restore " my independence, who, on account of my " partiality to the Greeks, have exposed myself " to so much danger in thus acquainting you " with the intention of Mardonius, to prevent " the Barbarians attacking you by surprize. I " am Alexander[44] of Macedon." When he had

---

[44] *I am Alexander.*]—

Aristides hastes—
To whom the stranger:—Bulwark of this camp,
Hear, credit, weigh the tidings which I bear:
Mardonius, press'd by fear of threat'ning want,
At night's fourth watch the fatal stream will pass,
Inflexibly determin'd, tho' forbid
By each diviner, to assail your host
With all his numbers.—I against surprize
Am come to warn you: thee alone I trust,
My name revealing. I, O man divine,

thus spoken, he returned to his station in the Persian camp.

XLVI. The Athenian chiefs went to the right wing, and informed Pausanias of what they had learned from Alexander. Pausanias, who stood in much awe[45] of the Persians, addressed them thus

---

I who thus hazard both my realm and life,
Am Alexander, Macedonian friend
Of Athens—Kindly on a future day
Remember me. *Athenaid.*

[45] *In much awe.*]—Commenting on this passage, Wesseling asks, if Pausanias had forgotten the noble defence of the three hundred Spartans at the straits of Thermopylæ? and if their glorious deaths had rendered the Persians more terrible? To this Larcher replies, in a manner not entirely satisfactory: he observes, that the Spartans on that occasion being all slain, there was not one in the army of Pausanias who had been engaged against the Persians, and who was acquainted with their mode of fighting.

It seems very singular that M. Larcher should not remember, that there was a man in the army of Pausanias who had fought with the Persians, escaped the great destruction of his countrymen, and consequently could have informed his fellow soldiers in what manner the Persians fought. See chapter lxx. of this book, in which we are told, that Aristodemus, who escaped from Thermopylæ, most distinguished himself at Platæa, in order to retrieve his reputation. We find also, that Leonidas had sustained many battles with the flower of the Persian army, aided by his Grecian allies, before he devoted himself and his three hundred to death, dismissing all the rest of his army.

But after all, the most serious objection to this passage of Herodotus is, that it evidently militates with the received

in reply: "As a battle is to take place in the "morning, I think it advisable that you, Athe- "nians, should front the Persians, and we, those "Bœotians and Greeks who are now posted op- "posite to you. You have before contended "with the Medes, and know their mode of "fighting by experience at Marathon; we have "never had this opportunity; but we have before "fought the Bœotians and Thessalians; take, "therefore, your arms, and let us exchange "situations." "From the first," answered the Athenians, "when we observed the Persians "opposed to you, we wished to make the pro- "posal[46] we now hear from you; we have been

---

opinions of the discipline of Sparta, and the patient fortitude which was the characteristic feature of that singular people. —*T.*

In his second edition Larcher combats the opinion given in the above note, but does not entirely get rid of the objection.

He asserts, that Aristodemus and Partites were not actually present at the battle of Thermopylæ. Certainly they were not, but they were present at many previous skirmishes, and indeed severe engagements with the Persians, in which the Greeks constantly repulsed their enemies.—They consequently both better knew the Persian mode of fighting, and Aristodemus in particular was able to inform Pausanias on the subject.

[46] *Make the proposal.*]—According to Plutarch, the Grecian leaders were at first exceedingly offended at this conduct of Pausanias, but were pacified by the remonstrances of Aristides.

" only deterred by our fear of offending you: as " the overture comes from you, we are ready to " comply with it."

XLVII. This being agreeable to both, as soon as the morning dawned they changed situations; this the Bœotians observed, and communicated to Mardonius. The Persian general immediately exerted himself to oppose the Lacedæmonians with his troops. Pausanias, on seeing his scheme thus detected, again removed the Spartans to the right wing, as did Mardonius instantly his Persians to the left.

XLVIII. When the troops had thus resumed their former posts, Mardonius sent a herald with this message to the Spartans: " Your character, " O Lacedæmonians, is highly celebrated among " all these nations, as men who disdain to fly; " who never desert your ranks, determined " either to slay your enemies or die.—Nothing " of this is true: we perceive you in the act of " retreating, and of deserting your posts before " a battle is commenced: we see you delegating " to the Athenians the more dangerous attempt " of opposing us, and placing yourselves against " our slaves, neither of which actions is con- " sistent with bravery. We are, therefore, greatly " deceived in our opinion of you; we expected, " that from a love of glory you would have dis-

" patched a herald to us, expressing yourselves " desirous to combat with the Persians alone. " Instead of this we find you alarmed and ter- " rified; but as you have offered no challenge to " us, we propose one to you. As you are es- " teemed the most illustrious of your army, why " may not an equal number of you, on the part " of the Greeks, and of us on the part of the " Barbarians, contend for victory? If it be " agreeable to you, the rest of our common forces " may afterwards engage; if this be unnecessary, " we will alone engage, and whichever conquers " shall be esteemed victorious over the whole[47] of " the adverse army."

XLIX. The herald, after delivering his commission, waited some time for an answer; not receiving any, he returned to Mardonius. He was exceedingly delighted, and already anticipating a victory, sent his cavalry to attack the Grecks; these with their lances and arrows materially distressed the Grecian army, and forbade

---

47 *Over the whole.*]—Such partial challenges, as preventing an unnecessary effusion of blood, seem in cases of unavoidable hostilities most consonant to the dictates of humanity, and we find them frequently adopted in the earlier ages of the world. The histories of Greece and Rome abound with innumerable examples of this kind; as war gradually refined into a science, they came into disuse, and in later times have been totally laid aside.—*T.*

any near approach. Advancing to the Gargaphian fountain, which furnished the Greeks with water, they disturbed[48] and stopped it up. The Lacedæmonians alone were stationed near this fountain, the other Greeks, according to their different stations, were more or less distant, but all of them in the vicinity of the Asopus; but as they were debarred from watering here, by the missile weapons of the cavalry, they all came to the fountain.

L. In this predicament the leaders of the Greeks, seeing the army cut off from the water, and harassed by the cavalry, came in crowds to Pausanias on the right wing, to deliberate about these and other emergencies. Unpleasant as the present incident might be, they were still more distressed from their want of provision; their servants, who had been dispatched to bring this from the Peloponnese, were prevented by the cavalry from returning to the camp.

LI. The Grecian leaders, after deliberating

---

[48] *Disturbed, &c.*]—Bellanger is very angry with M. l'Abbé Gedoyn, for making Pausanias say, that Mardonius on this occasion *poisoned* the water. "The Persians, barbarians," says he, "as they were, had a greater respect for the laws of nations, and the rights of humanity:—they were not poisoners." The Greek expression in Herodotus is συνεταραξαν και συνεχωσαν. The word which Pausanias uses is συνεχεεν.—*T.*

upon the subject, determined, if the Persians should for one day more defer coming to an engagement, to pass to the island opposite to Platæa, and about ten stadia from the Asopus and the fountain Gargaphie, where they were at present encamped. This island is thus connected with the continent: the river, descending from Cithæron to the plain, divides itself into two streams, which after flowing separately, for about the distance of three stadia, again unite, thus forming the island which is called Oëroë, who, according to the natives, is the daughter of Asopus[49]. The Greeks by this measure proposed to themselves two advantages; first to be secure of water, and secondly to guard against being further annoyed by the enemy's cavalry. They resolved to decamp at the time of the second watch[50] by night, lest the Persians, perceiving

---

49 *Daughter of Asopus.*]—Diodorus Siculus, who mentions the twelve daughters of Asopus, and Apollodorus, who speaks of twenty by name, says nothing of this Oëroë.

Diodorus Sic. speaks of Ægina, as well as Apollodorus, which last remarks that Ægina is the same with Œnone. Perhaps it is a mistake in the text of Herodotus, and Œnone is the true reading.—*Larcher.*

50 *Second Watch.*]—About four hours after sun-set. The Greeks divided the night into three watches.—*Larcher.*

The Romans divided their night into four watches. They had a *tessera*, upon which something was inscribed: this was given from one centurion to another throughout the army, till it returned to the man from whom it was first received.—*T.*

them, should pursue and harass them with their cavalry. It was also their intention, when arrived at the spot where the Asopian Oëroë is formed by the division of the waters flowing from Cithæron, to detach one half of their army to the mountain to relieve a body of their servants, who, with a convoy of provisions, were there encompassed.

LII. After taking the above resolutions, they remained all that day much incommoded by the enemy's horse: when these, at the approach of evening, retired, and the appointed hour was arrived, the greater part of the Greeks began to move with their baggage, but without any design of proceeding to the place before resolved on. The moment they began to march, occupied with no idea but that of escaping the cavalry, they retired towards Platæa, and fixed themselves near the temple of Juno, which is opposite to the city, and at the distance of twenty stadia from the fountain of Gargaphie: in this place they encamped.

LIII. Pausanias, observing them in motion, gave orders to the Lacedæmonians to take their arms, and follow their route, presuming they were proceeding to the appointed station. The officers all shewed themselves disposed to obey the orders of Pausanias, except Amompharetus,

the son of Poliadas, captain of the band of Pitanatæ[51], who asserted that he would not fly before the Barbarians, and thus be accessary to the dishonour of Sparta: he had not been present at the previous consultation, and knew not what was intended. Pausanias and Eurysanax, though indignant at his refusal to obey the orders which had been issued, were still but little inclined to abandon the Pitanatæ, on the account of their leader's obstinacy; thinking, that by their prosecuting the measure which the Greeks

---

[51] *Pitanatæ.*]—At this word Larcher quotes from Pausanias the following passage:—"There is a part of Sparta called the *Theometidæ*, where are the tombs of the princes, called Agidæ. Near this is the place where the Crotani assemble, and the Crotani are the body of troops named the *Pitanatæ*.

Thucydides, on the contrary, asserts that there never was a body of troops at Lacedæmon distinguished by this name. —See *Duker's Edition of Thucydides*, page 17.

The following passage, however, occurs in Pausanias, l. iii. c. 14.

There is a village in Sparta called Theometis; here are the tombs of the kings called Agidæs; near this is the place where the Crotani assemble. The Crotani are a part of the Pitanates.

According to Meursius; see his Miscellanea Laconica, l. iii. c. 2. Thucydides says this of the cohort called Σκιριτην. See also the same author's Atticæ Lectiones, l. i. c. 16.

Herodian, l. iv. says, that Antoninus Caracalla instituted at Rome a band, which he named Pitanetes. The word is derived from Pitana, a daughter of Eurotas; from whom a city was so called, which was the country of Menelaus.—*T.*

in general had adopted, Amompharetus and his party must unavoidably perish. With these sentiments the Lacedæmonians were commanded to halt, and pains were taken to dissuade the man from his purpose, who alone, of all the Lacedæmonians and Tegeatæ, was determined not to quit his post.

LIV. At this crisis the Athenians determined to remain quietly on their posts, knowing it to be the genius of the Lacedæmonians to say one thing and think another[52]. But as soon as they

---

[52] *Think another.*]—Artifice and cunning were adopted by Lycurgus in the system of his politics. To *æolize*, or to deceive, was made a distinguishing note and maxim of the Spartan government. Αιολος, Hesychius explains by the word ποικιλος, duplex, a sharper. The care which they took at Sparta to train their youth in the arts of wiliness and deceit, the applause which was bestowed on the young knave who excelled therein, and the chastisement inflicted on the lad who miscarried, and was detected, ὡς κακως κλεπτοντα, as one who had not yet learned his lesson, shew that they were reconciled to their name in its worst acceptation. To give it the best construction, we ought to consider, that the object Lycurgus had in view, was to render the people expert in the stratagems of war,—τους παιδας ποιειν πολεμικωτερους.—*Xenoph. de Lac. Rep.* The arms of the Spartan monarchy were *an eagle holding a serpent;* symbolically representing a superiority of cunning—Αιετος δρακοντος επειλημενος; with this seal was their letter signed, which they sent to Onias the high priest.—See *Joseph. A. J.* l. xii. c. 5. See also the Trachiniæ of Sophocles, where the expression Αιολος Δρακων occurs.—*T.*

Andromache

observed the troops in motion, they dispatched a horseman to learn whether the Lacedæmonians intended to remove, and to enquire of Pausanias what was to be done.

LV. When the messenger arrived, he found the men in their ranks, but their leaders in violent altercation. Pausanias and Euryanax were unsuccessfully attempting to persuade Amompharetus not to involve the Lacedæmonians alone in danger by remaining behind, when the Athenian messenger came up to them. At this moment, in the violence of dispute, Amompharetus took up a stone with both his hands, and throwing it at the feet of Pausanias, exclaimed, "There is my vote for not flying before the "foreigners;" so terming the Barbarians. Pausanias, after telling him that he could be only actuated by phrenzy, turned to the Athenian, who delivered his commission. He afterwards desired him to return, and communicate to the Athenians the state in which he found them,

---

Andromache thus addresses Menelaus in Euripides:

O ye vile Spartans, most of all mankind
By all the world detested; trained in wiles;
Supreme in falsehoods; artful to devise
Whate'er of mischief; dark in your designs,
And intricate, unsafe, your thoughts involved
Maze within maze, &c. &c.

Potter's Translation.

and to entreat them immediately to join their forces, and act in concert, as should be deemed expedient.

LVI. The messenger accordingly returned to the Athenians, whilst the Spartan chiefs continued their disputes till the morning. Thus far Pausanias remained indecisive, but thinking, as the event proved, that Amompharetus would certainly not stay behind, if the Lacedæmonians actually advanced, he gave orders to all the forces to march forward by the heights, in which they were followed by the Tegeans. The Athenians keeping close to their ranks, pursued a route opposite to that of the Lacedæmonians; these last, who were in great awe of the cavalry, advanced by the steep paths which led to the foot of mount Cithæron; the Athenians marched over the plain.

LVII. Amompharetus never imagining that Pausanias would venture to abandon them, made great exertions to keep his men on their posts; but when he saw Pausanias advancing with his troops, he concluded himself effectually given up; taking therefore his arms, he with his band proceeded slowly after the rest of the army. These continuing their march for a space of ten stadia, came to a place called Argiopius, near the river Moloës, where is a temple of the Eleusinian

Ceres, and there halted, waiting for Amompharetus and his party. The motive of Pausanias in doing this was, that he might have the opportunity of returning to the support of Amompharetus, if he should be still determined not to quit his post. Here Amompharetus and his band joined them; the whole force of the enemy's horse continuing as usual to harass them. As soon as the Barbarians discovered that the spot where the Greeks had before encamped was deserted, they put themselves in motion, overtook, and materially distressed them.

LVIII. Mardonius being informed that the Greeks had decamped by night, and seeing their former station unoccupied, sent for Thorax of Larissæ, and his brothers Eurypilus and Thrasydeïus, and thus addressed them: "Sons of "Aleuas[53], what will you now say, seeing the "Lacedæmonians desert their post, whom you

[53] *Sons of Aleuas.*]—

Now, Larissæan Thorax, and the rest
Of Aleuadian race, now, Theban lords,
Judge of the Spartans justly. Vaunted high
For unexampled prowess, them you saw
First change their place, imposing on the sons
Of Athens twice the formidable task
To face my chosen Persians; next, they gave
To my defiance no reply; and last,
Are fled before me; can your augurs shew
A better omen than a foe dismay'd? &c. *Athenaid.*

" their neighbours, asserted to be men who never
" fled, but were above all others valiant. You
" have before seen them change their station
" in the camp, and you find, that in the last
" night, they have actually taken themselves to
" flight. They have now shewn, that being op-
" posed by men of undisputed courage, they are
" of no reputation themselves, and are as con-
" temptible as their fellow Greeks; but as you
" may have had some testimony of their prowess,
" without being spectators of ours, I can readily
" enough forgive the praises which you rendered
" them. But that Artabazus, from his terror of
" these Spartans, should assert an opinion full of
" pusillanimity, and endeavour to prevail on us
" to leave this station, and retire to Thebes, fills
" me with astonishment.—The king, however,
" shall hear from me of his conduct; but of this
" more hereafter: let us, therefore, not suffer
" these men to escape, but pursue them vigor-
" ously, and chastise them with becoming seve-
" rity for their accumulated injuries to Persia."

LIX. Having thus expressed himself, he led the Persians over the Asopus, and pursued the path which the Greeks had taken, whom he considered as flying from his arms. The Lacedæmonians and Tegeans were the sole objects of his attack, for the Athenians, who had marched over the plain, were concealed by the hills from

his view. The other Persian leaders seeing the troops moving as if in pursuit of the Greeks, raised their standards, and followed the rout with great impetuosity, but without regularity or discipline; they hurried on with tumultuous shouts, considering the Greeks as absolutely in their power.

LX. When Pausanias found himself thus pressed by the cavalry, he sent a horseman with the following message to the Athenians: "We "are menaced, O Athenians, by a battle, the "event of which will determine the freedom or "slavery of Greece; and in this perplexity you, "as well as ourselves, have, in the preceding "night, been deserted by our allies. It is ne- "vertheless our determination to defend our- "selves to the last, and to render you such "assistance as we may be able. If the enemy's "horse had attacked you, we should have "thought it our duty to have marched with the "Tegeatæ, who are in our rear, and still faith- "ful to Greece, to your support. As the whole "operation of the enemy seems directed against "us, it becomes you to give us the relief we "materially want; but if you yourselves are so "circumstanced, as to be unable to advance to "our assistance, at least send us a body of "archers. We confess, that in this war your

" activity has been far the most conspicuous, and " we therefore presume on your compliance with " our request."

LXI. The Athenians, without hesitation, and with determined bravery, advanced to communicate the relief which had been required. When they were already on their march, the confederate Greeks, in the service of the king, intercepted and attacked them: they were thus prevented from assisting the Lacedæmonians, a circumstance which gave them extreme uneasiness. In this situation the Spartans, to the amount of fifty thousand light-armed troops, with three thousand Tegeatæ [54], who on no occasion were separated from them, offered a solemn sacrifice [55], with the resolution of encountering Mardonius. The victims, however,

---

[54] *Tegeatæ.*]—

Of the Spartans there were	5,000
Seven Helots to each Spartan	35,000
Lacedæmonians	5,000
A light-armed soldier to each Lacedæmonian	5,000
Tegeatæ	1,500
Light-armed Tegeatæ	1,500
Total	53,000

See chapters xxviii. and xxix.

[55] *Sacrifice.*]—Plutarch gives various particulars of this action omitted by Herodotus, which the reader perhaps may as well like to see in the words of Glover, who has almost literally copied Plutarch:

Slain is the victim, but the inspecting seer
Reveals no sign propitious. Now full nigh

were not auspicious, and in the mean time many of them were slain, and more wounded. The Persians, under the protection of their bucklers[56],

---

The foremost Persian horse discharge around
Their javelins, darts, and arrows. Sparta's chief,
In calm respect of inauspicious heaven,
Directs each soldier at his foot to rest
The passive shield, submissive to endure
Th' assault, and watch a signal from the gods;
A second time unfavourable prove
The victim's entrails.—Unremitted showers
Of pointed arms distribute wounds and death.
A second victim bleeds: the gath'ring foes
To multitude are grown: the showers of death
Increase. Then melted into flowing grief
Pausanian pride.—He towards the fane remote
Of Juno lifting his afflicted eyes,
Thus suppliant spake: O goddess, let my hopes
Be not defeated, whether to obtain
A victory so glorious, or expire
Without dishonour to Herculean blood.—
The sacrifice is prosperous, &c.

Potter gives a particular account of the mode of divination by inspecting the entrails. If they were whole and sound, had their natural place, colour, and proportion, all was well; if any thing was out of order, or wanting, evil was portended. The palpitation of the entrails was unfortunate; if the liver was bad they inspected no farther. For other particulars, see Potter. The Roman mode of divination by the entrails, was the same as that of the Greeks.—*T.*

[56] *Their bucklers.*]—The Persian bucklers were made of osier, and covered with skin.—See *Taylor on Demosthenes*, vol. iii. p. 620.

Of the Persian mode of carrying their quivers behind, or under their shield; see before.

This

showered their arrows upon the Spartans with prodigious effect. At this moment Pausanias, observing the entrails still unfavourable, looked earnestly towards the temple of Juno at Platæa, imploring the interposition of the goddess, and entreating her to prevent their disgrace and defeat.

LXII. Whilst he was in the act of supplicating the goddess, the Tegeatæ advanced against the Barbarians: at the same moment the sacrifices became favourable, and Pausanias, at the head of his Spartans, went up boldly to the enemy. The Persians, throwing aside their bows, prepared to receive them. The engage-

---

This passage has perplexed the commentators. Bellanger understands that the Persians made a rampart of their bucklers, behind which they used their arrows. Larcher approves of this, but it seems attended with many difficulties. Did they approach within a given distance of the enemy, and then pile up their bucklers by way of entrenchment? If so, in case of defeat, they became naked and defenceless; for how in the tumult of action, and the terror of a victorious foe, could they undo their entrenchment, and each recover his buckler. In Homer we find, that Teucer shot his arrows under the protection of the shield of Ajax; and though I am hardly warranted to make the assertion, it by no means seems improbable, that with the archers a body of shield-bearers might be distributed, to enable them to take their aim with more steadiness and certainty.—*T.*

ment commenced before the barricade[57]: when this was thrown down, a conflict took place near the temple of Ceres, which was continued with unremitted obstinacy till the fortune of the day was decided. The Barbarians, seizing their adversaries lances, broke them in pieces, and discovered no inferiority either in strength or courage; but their armour was inefficient, their attack without skill, and their inferiority, with respect to discipline, conspicuous. In whatever manner they rushed upon the enemy, from one to ten at a time, they were cut in pieces by the Spartans.

LXIII. The Greeks were most severely pressed where Mardonius himself, on a white horse[58], at the head of a thousand chosen Persians, directed his attack. As long as he lived, the Persians, both in their attack and defence, conducted them-

---

[57] *Barricade.*]—The former difficulty here recurs; the Greek is περι τα γερρα, and the γερρα are explained to be the Persian shields. But whilst the Greeks were endeavouring to overturn this, were the Persians fighting without shields?—*T.*

[58] *White horse.*]—

> But fiercest was the contest where sublime
> The son of Gobryas from a snow-white steed
> Shot terror.—There selected warriors charged;
> A thousand veterans, by their fathers trained,
> Who shar'd renown with Cyrus. *Athenaid.*

selves well, and slew great numbers of the Spartans; but as soon as Mardonius was slain, and the band which fought near his person, and which was the flower of the army, was destroyed, all the rest turned their backs and fled. They were much oppressed and encumbered by their long dresses, besides which, being lightly armed, they had to oppose men in full and complete armour.

LXIV. On this day, as the oracle had before predicted, the death of Leonidas was amply revenged upon Mardonius, and the most glorious victory[59] which has ever been recorded, was then obtained by Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, and grandson of Anaxandrides. The other ancestors,

---

59 *Glorious victory.*]—It was principally, says the author of the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, to the victories which the Athenians obtained over the Persians, that they owed the ruin of their ancient constitution. After the battle of Platæa, it was ordered that the citizens of the lower classes, who had been excluded by Solon from the principal magistracies, should from that time have the privilege of obtaining them. The wise Aristides, who prevented this decree, afforded a calamitous example to those who succeeded him in command; they were first compelled to flatter the multitude, and finally to bow before it. Formerly they disdained to attend the general assemblies; but as soon as government had ordained, that a gratification of three oboli should be given to whoever assisted at them, they rushed there in crowds, driving away the affluent by their presence and their fury, and insolently substituting their caprices for laws.—*T.*

which he had in common with Leonidas, I have before mentioned. Mardonius was slain by Aimnestus, a Spartan of distinguished reputation, who, long after this Persian war, with three hundred men, was killed in an engagement at Stenyclerus *, in which he opposed the united force of the Messenians.

LXV. The Persians, routed by the Spartans at Platæa, fled in the greatest confusion towards their camp, and to the wooden entrenchment which they had constructed in the Theban territories. It seems to me somewhat surprising, that although the battle was fought near the grove of Ceres, not a single Persian took refuge in the temple, nor was slain near it; but the greater part of them perished beyond the limits of the sacred ground. If it may be allowed to form any conjecture on divine subjects, I should think that the goddess interfered to prevent their entrance, because on a former occasion they had burned her temple at Eleusis. Such was the issue of the battle of Platæa.

LXVI. Artabazus, the son of Pharnaces, who had from the first disapproved of the king's leav-

* Larcher thinks that this ought to be written Stenyclarus; but it is Stenyclerus also in Pausanias. Larcher, however, has the authority of Strabo.

ing Mardonius behind him, and who had warmly, though unsuccessfully, endeavoured to prevent a battle, determined on the following measures. He was at the head of no small body of troops; they amounted to forty thousand men; being much averse to the conduct of Mardonius, and foreseeing what the event of an engagement must be, he prepared and commanded his men to follow him wherever he should go, and to remit or increase their speed by his example. He then drew out his army, as if to attack the enemy; but he soon met the Persians flying from them: he then immediately and precipitately fled with all his troops in disorder, not directing his course to the entrenchment or to Thebes, but towards Phocis, intending to gain the Hellespont with all possible speed.—In this manner did these troops conduct themselves.

LXVII. Of those Greeks who were in the royal army, all except the Bœotians, from a preconcerted design, behaved themselves ill. The Bœotians fought the Athenians with obstinate resolution: those Thebans who were attached to the Medes made very considerable exertions, fighting with such courage, that three hundred of their first and boldest citizens fell by the swords of the Athenians. They fled at length, and pursued their way to Thebes, avoiding the route which the Persians had taken with the im-

mense multitude of confederates, who, so far from making any exertions, had never struck a blow.

LXVIII. To me it appears, that the conduct of the Barbarians in general, was decided by that of the Persians. Before they had at all engaged with the enemy, they took themselves to flight, seeing the Persians do so. The whole army, however, fled in confusion, except the horse, and those of the Bœotians in particular, who were of essential service in covering the retreat, being constantly at hand to defend their flying friends from the Greeks, who continued the pursuit with great slaughter.

LXIX. In the midst of all this tumult, intelligence was conveyed to those Greeks posted near the temple of Juno, and remote from the battle, that the event was decided, and Pausanias victorious. The Corinthians instantly, without any regularity, hurried over the hills which lay at the foot of the mountain, to arrive at the temple of Ceres. The Megarians and Phliasians, with the same intentions, posted over the plain, the more direct and obvious road. As they approached the enemy, they were observed by the Theban horse, commanded by Asopodorus, son of Timander, who, taking advantage of their want of order, rushed upon them and slew six

hundred, driving the rest towards mount Cithæron. Thus did these perish ingloriously.

LXX. The Persians, and a promiscuous multitude along with them, as soon as they arrived at the entrenchment, endeavoured to climb the turrets, before the Lacedæmonians should come up with them. Having effected this, they endeavoured to defend themselves as well as they could. The Lacedæmonians soon arrived, and a severe engagement commenced at the entrenchment. Before the Athenians came up, the Persians not only defended themselves well, but had the advantage, as the Lacedæmonians were ignorant of the proper method of attack; but as soon as the Athenians advanced to their support, the battle was renewed with greater fierceness, and was long continued. The valour and firmness of the Athenians finally prevailed. Having made a breach, they rushed into the camp: the Tegeatæ were the first Greeks that entered, and were they who plundered the tent of Mardonius, taking from thence, among other things, the manger[61] from which his horses were fed, made entirely of brass, and very curious. This was afterwards deposited by the Tegeatæ in the temple of the

---

61 *Manger.*]—One of the later Roman emperors, I believe it was Caracalla, fed a favourite horse from a manger of solid gold.—*T.*

Alean Minerva: the rest of the booty* was carried to the spot where the common plunder was collected. As soon as their entrenchment was thrown down, the Barbarians dispersed themselves different ways, without exhibiting any proof of their former bravery; they were, indeed, in a state of stupefaction and terror, from seeing their immense multitude overpowered in so short a period. So great was the slaughter made by the Greeks, that of this army, which consisted of three hundred thousand men, not three thousand escaped, if we except the forty thousand who fled with Artabazus. The Lacedæmonians of Sparta lost ninety-one men: the Tegeatæ sixteen; the Athenians fifty-two[62].

LXXI. Of those who most distinguished themselves on the part of the Barbarians, are to be reckoned the Persian infantry, the Sacian cavalry, and lastly, Mardonius himself. Of the Greeks,

* The chair, or stool, on which Mardonius sate, the feet of which were of solid silver, together with his scimitar, worth three hundred darics, almost equal to three hundred guineas, fell to the Athenians, who deposited them in their citadel, as a monument of this victory. See Demosthenes contra Timocratem.

62 *Fifty-two.*]—The Greeks, according to Plutarch, lost in all 1,360 men: all those who were slain of the Athenians were of one particular tribe. Plutarch is much incensed at Herodotus for his account of this battle; but the authority of our historian seems entitled to most credit.—*T.*

the Tegeatæ and Athenians were eminently conspicuous; they were, nevertheless, inferior to the Lacedæmonians. The proof of this with me is, that though the former conquered those to whom they were opposed, the latter vanquished the pride and strength of the Barbarian army. The most daring of the Spartans, in my opinion, was Aristodemus; the same who alone returning from Thermopylæ fell into disgrace and infamy; next to him, Posidonius, Phylocyon, and Amompharetus the Spartan, behaved the best. Nevertheless, when it was disputed in conversation what individual had on that day most distinguished himself, the Spartans who were present said, that Aristodemus, being anxious to die conspicuously, as an expiation of his former crime, in an emotion of fury had burst from his rank, and performed extraordinary exploits; but that Posidonius had no desire to lose his life, and therefore his behaviour was the more glorious: but this remark might have proceeded from envy. All those of whom I have spoken, as slain on this day, were highly honoured, except Aristodemus. To him, for the reason above-mentioned, no respect was paid, as having voluntarily sought death.

LXXII. The above were those who gained the greatest reputation in the battle of Platæa. Callicrates, the handsomest man, not only of all the

Lacedæmonians, but of all the Greeks, was not slain in actual engagement: whilst Pausanias was sacrificing, he was sitting in his rank, and received a wound in his side from an arrow. In the heat of the conflict he was carried off, lamenting to Aimnestus, a man of Platæa, not that he perished for his country, but that he died without any personal exertions, or without performing any deed of valour worthy of himself, and his desire of renown.

LXXIII. The most eminent on this occasion of the Athenians is said to have been Sophanes, the son of Eutychides, of the Decelean tribe. The Deceleans, at some former period, according to the Athenians, performed what proved for ever of the greatest advantage to them. The Tyndaridæ had, with a numerous force, invaded Attica, to recover Helen[63], and had driven away all the natives, without being able to discover

[63] *Helen.*]—Helen, as every body knows, was the daughter of Tyndarus, and the sister of Castor and Pollux: she was carried off by Theseus, when, according to Hellanicus, he was fifty years old. She was not then marriageable, probably not more than ten. This event consequently happened many years before Menelaus married her, and Paris carried her away. The Greeks were ten years assembling forces for the siege, which continued ten years. "This is the twentieth year of my arrival at Troy," says Helen, in the Iliad, at which time she must have been in her thirty-sixth year.—*Larcher.*

where Helen was. On this emergence, the Deceleans are reported, and, as some say, Decelus himself, to have discovered what was required, and to have conducted the invaders to Aphidnæ, which Titacus[64], a native of the place, delivered into his hands. To this measure they were induced, partly from a sense of the infamy which was occasioned by the crime of Theseus, and partly from the fear that the whole territories of Attica would be ravaged. On account of this action, an immunity from taxes in Sparta, which has continued to the present period, was granted to the Deceleans, as well as a place of honour in the public assemblies. In the war which many years afterwards[65] took place between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians, the Lacedæmonians laying waste the rest of Attica, spared Decelea alone.

LXXIV. Of this people was Sophanes, who so greatly distinguished himself among the Athe-

---

[64] *Titacus.*]—There was a town in Attica called Titacidæ, doubtless so called from this Titacus.—*Larcher.*

It is not mentioned by Spon, in his book de Pagis Atticis.—*T.*

[65] *Many years afterwards.*]—The battle of Platæa took place in the second year of the 75th Olympiad; the Peloponnesian war commenced in the spring of the first year of the 87th Olympiad, that is, near forty-eight years after the battle of Platæa.—*Larcher.*

nians, though the particulars of his conduct are differently represented. He is reported by some to have carried before him an anchor of iron, secured by a leathern thong to his breast-plate; this, when the enemy approached, he threw on the ground, lest their rushing upon him might remove him from his rank: when the enemy fled he took up his anchor, and pursued them. Another report says, that he did not carry a real anchor, but merely the impression of one upon his shield, which he continually moved about.

LXXV. Another noble action is told of this Sophanes: when the Athenians besieged Ægina, he challenged, and killed in single combat, Eurybates[66] of Argos, who had conquered in the Pentathlon. Sometime after this battle of Platæa, whilst exerting himself with great bravery as leader of the Athenians, in conjunction with Leagrus, the son of Glaucon, he lost his life: he was slain by the Edonians at Datus[67], in a contest about some gold mines.

---

[66] *Eurybates.*]—He was conqueror in the Nemean games; and Pausanias relates the particular manner in which he was slain. See our author, book vi. chap. 92. This Eurybates must not be confounded with the Eurybates who betrayed Crœsus, and whose name became proverbial for a traitor. The latter was of Ephesus, the former of Argos.—*Larcher.*

[67] *Datus.*]—Upon this place Meursius, in his Lectiones Atticæ, employs a whole chapter, correcting errors concerning

LXXVI. After this victory of the Greeks over the Barbarians at Platæa, a woman hearing of the event, came to the Greeks as a suppliant. She was the concubine of Pharandates [68], a Persian, the son of Teaspes; both she and her female attendants were superbly dressed in habits of the richest embroidery. Descending from her carriage, she approached the Lacedæmonians, who were still engaged in slaughter, and addressing herself to Pausanias, who she saw commanded, and whose name and country she had before known: "Prince of Sparta," said she, embracing his knees [69], "be my deliverer from ser-

---

it committed by Stephanus and Hesychius. Stephanus the geographer places it in Thrace, Ptolemy in Macedonia, on the confines of Thrace; Eustathius on Dionysius agrees with Ptolemy, placing Datus on the banks of the Strymon, a river of Macedonia.—*T.*

[68] *Pharandates.*]—This man commanded the Mares and Colchians. See book vii. c. 79.

[69] *Embracing his knees.*]—This was a common, and indeed very natural act of extreme humility, and earnest supplication: innumerable instances occur of its being practised in ancient writers, and in Homer particularly. Priam, when he goes to beg of Achilles the body of Hector, throws himself at his feet, and embraces his knees:

Unseen by these the king his entry made,
And prostrate now before Achilles laid;
Sudden (a venerable sight) appears,
Embrac'd his knees, and bath'd his hands in tears;
Those direful hands his kisses press'd, embru'd
E'en with the best, the dearest of his blood.

These

" vitude; you have already merited my gratitude, " by exterminating those who revered neither " gods nor demons. I am a Coan by birth, " daughter of Hegetoridas, grand-daughter of " Antagoras; the Persian carried me off violently " from Cos, and detained me with him." " Be " under no alarm," answered Pausanias, " both " because you are a suppliant[70], and because, if " what you say be true, you are the daughter of " Hegetoridas of Cos, to whom, of all his coun- " trymen, I am most bound by the ties of hospi- " tality." He then recommended her to the care of the Ephori, who were present, and finally, at her request, removed her to Ægina.

LXXVII. After the departure of this woman, and when the battle was finally decided, the Mantineans arrived. They considered their not coming in time for the engagement a serious calamity, and an incident for which they ought to undergo

---

These six lines are expressed with much greater pathos and beauty by Homer in three.—*T.*

The Abbé Gedoyn, in his French translation of Pausanias, says, that Pausanias found this woman in the tent of Pharandates.—Pausanias says no such thing, and the narrative of Herodotus contradicts him altogether.

[70] *Suppliant.*]—See the Odyssey, book vii. 216.—Pope's Translation:

> To raise a lowly suppliant from the ground
> Befits a monarch.

a voluntary punishment. Having learned that the Medes, under Artabazus [71], had taken themselves to flight, they determined to pursue them as far as Thessaly, from which they were with some difficulty dissuaded by the Lacedæmonians: afterwards, on their return home, they sent their leaders into banishment. The Eleans arrived after the Mantineans, and, expressing the same regret, they also returned, and banished their commanders. Such was the conduct of these two people.

LXXVIII. Among the troops of the Æginetæ, assembled at Platæa, was Lampon [72], one of their principal citizens, and son of Pitheas. This man went to Pausanias, giving him the following most impious counsel: "Son of Cleombrotus, what "you have done is beyond comparison splen- "did, and deserving admiration. The deity, in

---

[71] *Artabazus.*]—He commanded the Parthians and Chorasmians, consisting of forty thousand men. See book vii. chap. 66. And is the same person, the son of Pharnaces, who retreated with the forty thousand Persians after the battle of Platæa. Herodotus calls the troops of Artabazus Medes, which was the name given to the Persians and to all that served under them.

[72] *Lampon.*]—This Lampon was of a family illustrious no less for the prizes they obtained at the Isthmean and Nemean games, than for their noble origin. He was the son of Pytheas, to whom the 5th Nemean Ode of Pindar was addressed; which see.

" making you the instrument of Greece's freedom, " has placed you far above all your predecessors " in glory: in concluding this business, so con- " duct yourself, that your reputation may be still " increased, and that no Barbarian may ever " again attempt to perpetrate atrocious actions " against Greece. When Leonidas was slain at " Thermopylæ, Mardonius and Xerxes cut off " his head, and suspended his body from a cross. " Do the same with respect to Mardonius, and " you will deserve the applause of Sparta and of " Greece, and avenge the cause of your uncle " Leonidas." Thus spake Lampon, thinking he should please Pausanias.

LXXIX. " Friend of Ægina," replied Pausanias, " I thank you for your good intentions, " and commend your foresight; but what you " say violates every principle of equity[73]. After " elevating me, my country, and this recent " victory, to the summit of fame, you again " depress us to infamy, in recommending me to " inflict vengeance on the dead[74]. You say,

---

[73] *Of equity.*]—Pausanias altered materially afterwards. He aspired to the supreme power, became magnificent and luxurious, fierce and vindictive. See Thucydides, l. i. c. 128, 29, 30, &c.—*Larcher.*

[74] *On the dead.*]—This sentiment is frequently expressed by ancient and modern authors. Homer says,

T' insult the dead is cruel and unjust.

Dr.

" indeed, that by such an action I shall exalt " my character; but I think it is more consistent " with the conduct of Barbarians than of Greeks, " as it is one of those things for which we re- " proach them. I must therefore dissent from " the Æginetæ, and all those who approve their " sentiments. For me, it is sufficient to merit " the esteem of Sparta, by attending to the rules " of honour, both in my words and actions: " Leonidas, whom you wish me to avenge, has, " I think, received the amplest vengeance. The " deaths of this immense multitude must suffi- " ciently have atoned for him, and for those who " fell with him at Thermopylæ. I would advise " you in future, having these sentiments, to avoid " my presence; and I would have you think it a " favour, that I do not punish you."

Dr. Young, in his play of the Revenge, makes Zanga say,

——— I war not with the dead.

And in the Complaint, night iii. 190,

What guilt
Can equal violations of the dead;
The dead how sacred; sacred is the dust
Of this heav'n labour'd form.

But perhaps the most forcible and elegant sentiments on this subject may be found in the Antigone of Sophocles; where Antigone, in defiance of the edicts of Creon, at the peril of her own life, buries the dead body of her brother Polynices.

LXXX. Pausanias afterwards proclaimed by a herald, that no person should touch any of the booty; and he ordered the helots to collect the money into one place. They, as they dispersed[75] themselves over the camp, found tents decorated with gold and silver, couches of the same, goblets, cups, and drinking vessels of gold, besides sacks of gold, and silver caldrons placed on carriages. The dead bodies they stripped of bracelets, chains, and scimitars of gold; to their habits of various colours they paid no attention. Many things of value the helots secreted, and sold to the Æginetæ; others, unable to conceal, they were obliged to produce. The Æginetæ from this became exceedingly rich; for they purchased gold of the helots at the price of brass *.

---

[75] *As they dispersed.*]—This circumstance and behaviour of the helots necessarily reminds us of the four leprous men, 2 Kings, chap. vii. ver. 8.

"And when these lepers came to the uttermost part of the camp, they went into one tent, and did eat and drink, and carried thence silver and gold and raiment, and went and hid it; and came again, and entered into another tent, and carried thence also, and went and hid it."

The plunder of the Syrian camp by the king of Israel resembles in many other particulars what is here described of the Persian camp by Herodotus. See on the events related in this chapter, Diodorus Sic. l. ii. c. 26; Plutarch's Life of Aristides; Thucyd. l. iii. c. 114; Ælian, V. History, vol. ii. p. 680, where we are told that the Æginetæ were the first coiners of money.—*T.*

* Many similar anecdotes are on record, and such things

LXXXI. From the wealth thus collected, a tenth* part was selected for sacred purposes. To the deity of Delphi was presented a golden tripod[76], resting on a three-headed snake of brass: it was placed near the altar. To the Olympian god they erected a Jupiter, ten cubits high[77]: to the god of the Isthmus, the figure of Neptune, in brass, seven cubits high. When this was done, the remainder of the plunder was

---

may naturally happen. Soldiers sell on such occasions their plunder for what they can get. After the battle of Granson, obtained by the Swiss over the Duke of Burgundy, a diamond belonging to that prince, and known as one of the finest in Europe, sold for a florin.

See Memoires de Comines, l. v. c. 2.

* The custom of appropriating for sacred purposes a tenth of the spoil taken in war is of the very remotest antiquity.—See Suidas at the word δεκατεσειν, where we are informed that δεκατεοδαι properly means to consecrate.

76 *Tripod.*]—On the subject of ancient tripods, see Montfaucon, vol. ii. p. 85. What Herodotus here says is confirmed by Pausanias, in Phoc. book, p. 633.—*T.*

This three-headed snake of brass reminds us of the figure in the Hippodrome at Constantinople, described by Spon and Wheler, Tournefort and Pococke.—See Pococke in particular, vol. ii. p. 131.

" The serpentine pillar in the Hippodrome is thought to be a very great piece of antiquity, being said to be the twisted serpents on which there stood a tripod, supposed to be that which Pausanias and the cities of Greece consecrated to Apollo at Delphi.

77 *Jupiter.*]—See Pausanias, Elis, c. xxiii.

" Near the senate house is a Jupiter without an inscription, and another, which was dedicated by those who fought

divided among the army, according to their merits; it consisted of Persian concubines, gold, silver, beasts of burden, with various riches. What choice things were given to those who most distinguished themselves at Platæa [78], has never been mentioned, though certain presents, I believe, were made them. It is certain, that a tenth part of the whole was given to Pausanias, consisting among other things of women, horses, talents, and camels.

LXXXII. It is farther recorded, that when Xerxes fled from Greece, he left all his equipage

---

against Mardonius at Platæa: the names of the states, whose subjects were in that action, being inscribed upon the base of the figure, which was made by Anaxagoras of Ægina. The Lacedæmonians are the first, the Athenians next, then the Corinthians, fourthly the Sicyonians, then the Æginetæ, &c.—*Larcher.*

[78] *At Platæa.*]—That sagacious and entertaining traveller, Mr. Coxe, relates in his vol. i. of Switzerland, that the people of Glaris, to the amount only of three hundred and fifty, assisted by thirty Switzers, not only repulsed, but vanquished with a prodigious slaughter, an army of fifteen thousand Austrians. "This surprising victory," says he, "gained by a handful of men, against an enemy so superior in number (instances of which are by no means rare in the history of Switzerland) render the wonderful combats of Marathon and Platæa perfectly credible."—*T.*

This battle took place on the fourth of the month Boëdromion, which corresponds with our September.

The reader will do well to compare the account of this battle as given by Herodotus with that of Plutarch.

to Mardonius: Pausanias seeing this composed of gold, silver, and cloth of the richest embroidery, gave orders to the cooks and domestics to prepare an entertainment for him, as for Mardonius. His commands were executed, and he beheld couches of gold and silver, tables of the same, and every thing that was splendid and magnificent. Astonished at the spectacle, he again with a smile directed his servants to prepare a Lacedæmonian repast. When this was ready the contrast was so striking, that he laughing sent for the Grecian leaders: when they were assembled, he shewed them the two entertainments; "Men of Greece," said he, "I have called you together "to bear testimony to the king of Persia's folly, "who forsook all this luxury to plunder us who "live in so much poverty[79]." These were the words which Pausanias is said to have used to the Grecian leaders.

LXXXIII. In succeeding times, many of the Platæans found on the field of battle, chests of gold, silver, and other riches. This thing also happened: when the flesh had fallen from the bones of the dead bodies, the Platæans, in

---

[79] *Poverty.*]—If this remark were made with truth with respect to the Greeks, how much more pertinent does it appear, comparing the Scythians with the Persians, against whom Darius unsuccessfully led a numerous army.—*T.*

removing them to some other spot, discovered a skull as one entire bone, without any suture[80]. Two jaw bones also were found with their teeth, which though divided were of one entire bone[81], the grinders as well as the rest. The bones of a man also were seen, five cubits high.

LXXXIV. The body of Mardonius was removed the day after the battle; but it is not known by whom. I have heard the interment of Mardonius ascribed to various people of different nations; and I know that many persons received on this account liberal presents from Artontas, his son; but who it actually was that privately removed and buried the body of Mardonius, I have never been able to ascertain. It has sometimes been imputed to Dionysiophanes, a native of Ephesus.

LXXXV. The Greeks, after the division of the plunder at Platæa, proceeded to inter their

---

[80] *Without any suture.*]—Father Hardouin, in a note on a passage of Pliny, observes, that Albert, Marquis of Brandebourgh, surnamed the German Achilles, had a scull without a suture.—*Larcher.*

Natural historians have remarked this peculiarity in the sculls of many persons. It has also been affirmed of the celebrated cardinal Ximenes.—*T.*

[81] *Entire bone.*]—Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, had his teeth of one entire bone, though distinct from each other. It has been related also of many.—*Larcher.*

dead, each nation by themselves[82]. The Lacedæmonians[83] sunk three trenches: in the one they deposited the bodies of their priests[84], among whom were Posidonius, Amompharetus, Philocyon, and Callicrates; in the second were interred the other Spartans; in the third, the helots. The Tegeatæ were buried by themselves, but with no distinction: the Athenians in like manner, and also the Megarians and Phliasians who were slain by the cavalry. Mounds of earth were raised over the bodies of all these people. With respect to the others shewn at Platæa, I am told they were raised by those, who being ashamed of their absence from the battle, wished to secure the esteem of posterity. There is here a monument said to be that of the Æginetæ; but this I

---

[82] *By themselves.*]—The Lacedæmonians and Athenians had an appropriate burial; the other Greeks were interred promiscuously.—*Larcher.*

[83] *The Lacedæmonians.*]—We learn from Plutarch, that it was not unusual to separate the commanders from the common men.—See *Montfaucon*, vol. v. 14, 15, &c.—*T.*

[84] *Their Priests.*]—For τους ἱρεας, Valcnaer thinks we may read τους ἱππεας, the knights of whom we learn, l. vii. c. 124. These were three hundred.—*T.*

The proposed change of ἱρεας into ἱππεας, observes a learned friend, would be too undruidical for Dr. Stukeley, who appropriated so many barrows on Salisbury plain, &c. to the priests. If such a number of priests is inadmissible among the Spartans, may we not with Pauw for ἱρεας substitute ειρενας, who were young officers, as we learn from Plutarch.—See his *Life of Lycurgus.*

have been informed was raised ten years after the battle, by Cleades of Platæa, the son of Autodicus, at the particular request of the Æginetæ, to whom he was bound by the ties of hospitality.

LXXXVI. Having buried their dead on the plain of Platæa, the Greeks, after serious deliberation, resolved to attack Thebes, and demand the persons of those who had taken part with the Medes. Of these the most distinguished were Timegenides and Attaginus, the leaders of the faction. They determined, unless these were given up, not to leave Thebes without utterly destroying it. On the eleventh day after the battle, they besieged the Thebans, demanding the men whom we have named. They refused to surrender them: in consequence of which, their lands were laid waste, and their walls attacked.

LXXXVII. This violence being continued, Timegenides, on the twentieth day, thus addressed the Thebans: "Men of Thebes[85], since

---

[85] *Men of Thebes.*]—The gallant behaviour of Timegenides on this occasion will remind the English reader of the siege of Calais by Edward the Third, when Eustace de St. Pierre, one of the principal inhabitants, behaved precisely in a similar manner. He declared himself willing to suffer death for the safety of his friends and fellow-citizens. The en-

" the Greeks are resolved not to retire from
" Thebes till they shall either have destroyed it,
" or you shall deliver us into their power, let not
" Bœotia on our account be farther distressed.
" If their demand of our persons be merely a
" pretence to obtain money, let us satisfy them
" from the wealth of the public, as not we alone
" but all of us have been equally and openly
" active on the part of the Medes; if their real
" object in besieging Thebes, is to obtain our
" persons, we are ready to go ourselves, and
" confer with them." The Thebans approving his advice, sent immediately a herald to Pausanias, saying they were ready to deliver up the men.

LXXXVIII. As soon as this measure was determined, Attaginus fled, but his children were delivered to Pausanias, who immediately dismissed * them, urging that infants could not

---

treaties of Philippa, Edward's queen, induced the English monarch to behave with more magnanimity than we find Pausanias did. The citizens of Calais saved their lives, received magnificient presents, and were dismissed in safety. —See the story admirably told by Hume, vol. ii. p. 442.

* Ferret ne civitas ulla latorem istiusmodi legis ut condemnaretur filius aut nepos, si pater aut avus deliquisset.

See Deuteronomy, c. xxiv. v. 16.—" The fathers shall not be put to death for their children, nor the children for their fathers."

See

possibly have any part in the faction of the Medes. The other Thebans who were given up, imagined they should have the liberty of pleading for themselves, and by the means of money hoped to escape. Pausanias suspecting that such a thing might happen, as soon as he got them in his power, dismissed all the forces of the allies; then removing the Thebans to Corinth, he there put them to death.

LXXXIX. These things were done at Platæa and at Thebes. Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, fled from Platæa to the Thessalians. They received him with great hospitality, and entirely ignorant of what had happened, enquired after the remainder of the army. The Persian was fearful that if he disclosed the whole truth, he might draw upon him the attack of all who knew it, and consequently involve himself and army in the extremest danger. This reflection had before prevented his communication of the matter to the Phocæans: and on the present occasion he thus addressed the Thessalians: "I am hastening, as "you perceive, with great expedition to Thrace, "being dispatched thither from our camp with "this detachment, on some important business.

See also Ezekiel, c. xviii. v. 20.—"The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son."

" Mardonius with his troops follows me at no " great distance: shew him the rites of hospitality " and every suitable attention. You will finally " have no occasion to repent of your kindness." He then proceeded through Thessaly and Macedonia, immediately to Thrace, with evident marks of being in haste. Directing his march through the midst of the country, he arrived at Byzantium, with the loss of great numbers of his men, who were either cut in pieces by the Thracians, or quite worn out by fatigue and hunger. From Byzantium, he passed over his army in transports, and thus effected his return to Asia.

XC. On the very day of the battle of Platæa, a victory was gained at Mycale in Ionia. Whilst the Grecian fleet was yet at Delos, under the command of Leutychides the Lacedæmonian, ambassadors came to them from Samos. These were Lampon the son of Thrasyales, Athenagoras, son of Archestratidas, and Hegesistratus, son of Aristagoras, who were employed on this occasion without the knowledge of the Persians or of Theomestor[86], son of Androdamas, whom the Persians had made Prince of Samos. On their

---

[86] *Theomestor.*]—It may be seen book viii. ch. 85, what it was that induced the Persians to give this man the government of Samos.—*Larcher.*

arrival, they sought the Grecian leaders, whom Hegesistratus addressed with various arguments. He urged, that as soon as they should shew themselves, all the Ionians would shake off their dependance, and revolt from the Persians; he told them that they might wait in vain for the prospect of a richer booty. He implored also their common deities, that being Greeks, they would deliver those who also were Greeks from servitude, and avenge them on the Barbarian. He concluded by saying, that this might be easily accomplished, as the ships of the enemy were slow sailers, and by no means equal to those of the Greeks. He added, that if they had any suspicions of treachery, they were ready to go on board their vessels, and there remain as hostages.

XCI. Whilst the Samian continued his importunities, Leutychides, either for the sake of some omen, or by accident, Providence so ordering it, asked him his name. He replied, "Hegesistratus." If he had intended saying any more, Leutychides prevented him, by exclaiming, "My Samian friend, I accept the omen of your "name, you may therefore return, after pro-"mising us on behalf of yourself and your com-"panions, that the Samians will prove themselves "zealous allies."

XCII. Saying this, he proceeded to execute

what was proposed. The Samians, with an oath, engaged to become the confederates of the Greeks. Leutychides then dismissed them all excepting Hegesistratus, who on account of his name[87], he chose to take along with him. The Greeks, after remaining that day on their station, on the next sacrificed with favourable omens; Deiphonus, son of Evenius of Apollonia, in the Ionian gulph, being their minister.

XCIII. To this Evenius the following thing happened. There are in Apollonia, sheep sacred to the sun, which by day are fed on the banks of the river, that, flowing from mount Lacmon, passes through Apollonia, and empties itself into the sea, near the harbour of Oricum. By night they are kept by men, one of whom is every year chosen from the noblest and wealthiest of his fellow citizens. To these sheep, on ac-

---

87 *On account of his name.*]—The ancients paid great attention, Greeks as well as Romans, to the presages to be drawn from names. When Augustus was proceeding to the battle of Actium, he met a man driving an ass: the man's name was Eutychus, which means fortunate, the name of the ass was Nicon, which signifies victory. He accepted this as a favourable omen, and after his conquest of Antony, he constructed a temple in which he placed figures of the ass and its master.—Many similar examples are to be fond.—*T.*

In the present example, Hegesistratus signifies the general of an army.

count of some oracle, the people of Apollonia pay the greatest reverence, and they are every night secured in a cave at some distance from the city. Evenius being once elected to this office, was so remiss as to fall asleep, when some wolves entered, and destroyed nearly sixty of his sheep. On discovering the accident, he made no person acquainted with what had happened, intending to buy an equal number to substitute in their room. It could not, however, be concealed from the people of Apollonia, who, bringing Evenius to trial, condemned him to lose his eyes for sleeping on his duty. After they had inflicted this punishment upon him, their cattle ceased to bring forth, and their lands to be fruitful. This had been before predicted by the oracles of Dodona and Delphi. The prophets being interrogated concerning the occasion of the present calamity, replied, "That it was because they had unjustly "deprived of his sight, Evenius, the keeper of "the sacred sheep." They were the persons they said who had sent the wolves; nor would they cease their vengeance till Evenius should be satisfied in whatever manner he desired. They added, that they themselves would afterwards make him such a present, as would induce most men to think him happy.

XCIV. This reply was made by the oracles to the people of Apollonia. They, concealing this,

commissioned some of their citizens to compound the business. The method they took was this: they visited Evenius in his house, and seating themselves by him, talked of indifferent matters, till they at length began to pity his misfortune. When this was introduced, they asked him what compensation would satisfy him, if the Apolloniatæ would engage to make it? As he knew nothing of the oracle, he expressed his wish to have the lands of two citizens, whom he specified, which he believed to be the best in the country; to this he added the most splendid house in the city. If he had but these, he said, he should be perfectly content, and no longer feel any resentment. When Evenius had made this reply, his visitors interrupted him; "Accept," said they, "what you require, and what in com-"pliance with the oracle, your countrymen are "disposed to give you as an atonement for de-"priving you of sight." Evenius, on hearing the matter explained, was greatly incensed at the deception. The farms which he had wished for were purchased of their owners, and given him. He had afterwards the power of divination, whence he became famous.

XCV. Deiphonus was the son of this Evenius, whom the Corinthians had brought with them as soothsayer to the army. I have been informed

that Deiphonus performed this office, in Greece, availing himself of the name of Evenius, whose son he really was not.

XCVI. The Greeks having sacrificed favourably, set sail from Delos towards Samos. On their arrival at Calami[88] of Samos, they drew themselves up near the temple of Juno, and prepared for a naval engagement. When the Persians heard of their approach, they moved, with the residue of their fleet towards the continent, having previously permitted the Phœnicians to retire. They had determined, after a consultation, not to risk an engagement, as they did not think themselves a match for their opponents. They therefore made towards the continent, that they might be covered by their land forces at Mycale, to whom Xerxes had intrusted the defence of Ionia. These, to the amount of sixty

[88] *Calami.*]—Larcher in his Memoire sur Venus, p. 146, says, there was a temple at Samos erected to Venus, in a place full of reeds, which occasioned the goddess to be called Venus among the reeds, ηv οι μεv εv καλαμοις καλουσιv. This, says the learned Frenchman, is a valuable piece of intelligence, for we learn that there was a place in Samos called Καλαμοι, Calami, which explains this passage in Herodotus, concerning which the two last Editors have not said a syllable; neither has any geographer or author spoken of this place; but it is evident from Athenæus, l. xiii. c. 4. that it ought to be read προς Καλαμοισι.—*T.*

thousand, were under the command of Tigranes the Persian, one of the handsomest and tallest of his countrymen. To these troops the commanders of the fleet resolved to retire: it was also their intention to draw their vessels on shore and to throw up an intrenchment round them, which might equally serve as a protection to their vessels and themselves.

XCVII. After the above resolution, they proceeded on their course, and were carried near the temple of the Eumenidæ at Mycale, contiguous to Gæson and Scolopeës. In this place is a temple of the Eleusinian Ceres, built by Philistus, son of Pasicles, who accompanied Neleus the son of Codrus* when he founded Miletus. Here the Persians drew their ships to land, defending them with an intrenchment formed of stones, branches of fruit-trees cut down upon the spot, and pieces of timber closely fitted together. In this position they were ready to sustain a blockade, and with hopes of victory, being prepared for either event.

---

* Concerning this Codrus, see book i. c. 147, and Pausanias, l. x. c. 10. He was the last king of Athens, and after the battle of Marathon, a statue was erected to him, which was deposited at Delphi.—It was said to have been by Phidias.

XCVIII. When the Greeks received intelligence that the Barbarians were retired to the continent, they considered them as escaped out of their hands. They were exceedingly exasperated, and in great perplexity whether they should return or proceed towards the Hellespont. Their ultimate determination was to follow the enemy towards the continent. Getting therefore all things ready for an engagement by sea, and providing themselves with scaling ladders, and such other things as were necessary, they sailed to Mycale. When they approached the enemy's station, they perceived no one advancing to meet them; but beheld the ships drawn on shore, secured within an intrenchment, and a considerable body of infantry ranged along the coast. Leutychides upon this advanced before all the rest in his ship, and coming as near the shore as he could, thus addressed the Ionians by a herald: "Men of "Ionia, all you who hear me, listen to what I "say, for the Persians will understand nothing "of what I tell you. When the engagement "shall commence, remember first of all our "common liberties; in the next place take notice, "our watch-word is Hebe. Let those who "hear me, inform all who do not." The motive of this conduct was the same with that of Themistocles at Artemisium. These expressions, if not intelligible to the Barbarians, might make

the desired impression on the Ionians; or, if explained to the former, might render the fidelity of the latter suspected.

XCIX. When Leutychides had done this, the Greeks approached the shore, disembarked, and prepared for battle. The Persians observing this, and knowing the purport of the enemy's address to the Ionians, took their arms from the Samians, suspecting them of a secret attachment to the Greeks. The Samians had purchased the freedom of five hundred Athenians, and sent them back with provisions to their country, who having been left in Attica, had been taken prisoners by the Persians, and brought away in the Barbarian fleet. The circumstances of their thus releasing five hundred of the enemies of Xerxes, made them greatly suspected. To the Milesians, under pretence of their knowledge of the country, the Persians confided the guard of the paths to the heights of Mycale: their real motive was to remove them to a distance. By these steps the Persians endeavoured to guard against those Ionians, who might wish, if they had the opportunity, to effect a revolt. They next heaped their bucklers upon each other, to make a temporary rampart.

C. The Greeks being drawn up, advanced to attack the Barbarians: as they were proceeding, a herald's wand was discovered on the beach, and

a rumour circulated through the ranks, that the Greeks had obtained a victory over the forces of Mardonius and Bœotia. These things which happen [89] by divine interposition, are made known by various means. On the same day that their enemies were slaughtered at Platæa, and were about to be defeated at Mycale, the rumour of the former victory being circulated to this distance, rendered the Greeks more bold, and animated them against every danger.

CI. It appears farther worthy of observation, that both battles took place near the temple of the Eleusinian Ceres. The battle of Platæa, as I have before remarked, was in the vicinity of the temple of Ceres; the one at Mycale was in a similar situation. The report of the victory of the Greeks under Pausanias, came at a very seasonable moment; the engagement at Platæa happening early in the morning, that at Mycale towards evening. It was soon afterwards ascertained, that these incidents occurred on the same day of the same month. Before the arrival

---

[89] *Which happen.*]—It is unnecessary to remark, that the superstition of the writer is in this passage conspicuous, Diodorus Siculus is most sagacious, when he says that Leutychides, and those who were with him, knew nothing of the victory of Platæa; but that they contrived this stratagem to animate their troops, Polyænus relates the same in his Stratagemata.—*Larcher.*

of this rumour at Mycale, the Greeks were in great consternation, not so much on their own account, as from the fear that Greece would not be able to withstand the exertions of Mardonius; but, after they had heard this news, they advanced to combat with greater eagerness and courage. The Barbarians testified equal resolution, and both seemed to consider the islands and the Hellespont, as the reward of victory.

CII. The Athenians, who with those that accompanied them, constituted one-half of the army, advanced by the coast, and along the plain: the Lacedæmonians and their auxiliaries, by the more woody and mountainous places. Whilst the Lacedæmonians were making a circuit, the Athenians in the other wing were already engaged. The Persians, as long as their entrenchment remained uninjured, defended themselves well, and without any inferiority; but when the Athenians, with those who supported them, increased their exertions, mutually exhorting one another, that they and not the Lacedæmonians, might have the glory of the day, the face of things was changed; the rampart was thrown down, and a sensible advantage was obtained over the Persians. They sustained the shock for a considerable time, but finally gave way, and retreated behind their intrenchments. The Athenians, Corinthians, Sicyonians, and Trœzenians, rushed in with them;

for this part of the army was composed of these different nations. When the wall was carried, the Barbarians gave no testimony of their former prowess, but, except the Persians, indiscriminately fled. These last, though few in number, vigorously resisted the Greeks, who poured in upon them in crowds. Artayntes and Ithamitres, the commanders of the fleet, saved themselves by flight: but Mardontes, and Tigranes the general of the land forces, were slain.

CIII. Whilst the Persians still refused to give ground, the Lacedæmonians and their party arrived, and put all who survived to the sword. Upon this occasion many of the Greeks were slain, and among a number of the Sicyonians, Perilaus their leader. The Samians, who were in the Persian army, and from whom their weapons had been taken, no sooner saw victory incline to the side of the Greeks, than they assisted them with all their power. The other Ionians seeing this, revolted also, and turned their arms against the Barbarians.

CIV. The Milesians had been ordered, the better to provide for the safety of the Persians, to guard the paths to the heights, so that in case of accident, the Barbarians, under their guidance, might take refuge on the summits of Mycale; with this view, as well as to remove them to a

distance, and thus guard against their perfidy, the Milesians had been so disposed; but they acted in direct contradiction to their orders. Those who fled, they introduced directly into the midst of their enemies, and finally were active beyond all the rest in putting them to the sword. In this manner did Ionia a second time revolt from the Persian power.

CV. In this battle the Athenians most distinguished themselves, and of them Hermolycus *, the son of Euthynus, a man famous in the Pancratium. This man afterwards was slain in a battle at Cyrnus of Carystus, in the war betwixt the Athenians and Carystians [90], and was buried at Geræstum. Next to the Athenians, they who obtained the greatest reputation were the Corinthians, Trœzenians, and Sicyonians.

CVI. The greater number of the Barbarians being slain, either in the battle or in the pursuit, the Greeks burned their ships, and totally destroyed their wall: the plunder they collected upon the shore, among which was a consider-

* To this Hermolycus a statue was erected in the citadel of Athens.

90 *Carystians.*]—The Athenians had war also with the Carystians, in which the rest of Eubœa took no part. It finished by a treaty.—See *Thucydides*, l. i. c. 98.

able quantity of money. Having done this, they sailed from the coast. When they came to Samos, they deliberated on the propriety of removing the Ionians,[91] to some other place, wishing to place them in some part of Greece where their authority was secure; but they determined to abandon Ionia to the Barbarians. They were well aware both of the impossibility of defending the Ionians on every emergence, and of the danger which these would incur from the Persians, if they did not. The Peloponnesian magistrates were of opinion, that those nations who had embraced the cause of the Medes should be expelled, and their lands given to the Ionians. The Athenians would not consent that the Ionians should be transported from their country, nor would they allow the Peloponnesians to decide on the destruction of Athenian colonies. Seeing them tenacious of this opinion, the Peloponnesians no longer opposed them. Afterward, the people of Samos, Chios, Lesbos, and the other

---

91 *Removing the Ionians.*]—Twice, says the Abbé Bartelemy, in his Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, might this people have withdrawn themselves from the dominion of Persia; once by following the counsel of Bias, the other in complying with the will of the Lacedæmonians, who after the Persian war offered to transport them into Greece. They constantly refused to forsake their residence; and if it be permitted to judge from their populousness and wealth, independence was not essential to their happiness.—*T.*

islands who had assisted with their arms in the present exigence, were received into the general confederacy, having by an oath, promised constant and inviolable fidelity. This ceremony performed, they sailed towards the Hellespont, meaning to destroy the bridge, which they expected to find in its original state.

CVII. The Barbarians who saved themselves by flight, came to the heights of Mycale, and thence escaped in no great numbers to Sardis. During the retreat, Masistes son of Darius, who had been present at the late unfortunate engagement, severely reproached Artayntes the commander in chief: among other things, he said, that in the execution of his duty he had behaved more like a woman[92] than a man, and had materially injured the interests of his master. To say that a man is more dastardly than a woman, is with the Persians the most infamous of all reproaches. Artayntes, after bearing the insult for

---

[92] *Like a woman.*]—This reproach seems anciently to have been considered as the most contemptuous that could be imagined. Xerxes with this inveighed against his troops at Salamis. See also the speech of Thersites in the second book of the Iliad:

> O women of Achaia, men no more,
> Hence let us fly, and let him waste his store
> In loves and pleasures on the Phrygian shore.

The expression in Greek is Αχαιΐδες ουκ ετ Αχαιοι.—*T.*

some time, became at length so exasperated, that he drew his scimitar, intending to kill Masistes. He was prevented by Xenagoras, son of Praxilaus, a native of Halicarnassus, who happening to be behind Artayntes, seized him by the middle, and threw him to the ground: at the same time the guards of Masistes came up. Xenagoras by this action not only obtained the favour of Masistes, but so much obliged Xerxes, by thus preserving his brother, that he was honoured with the government of all Cilicia. Nothing farther of consequence occurred in their way to Sardis, where they found the king, who after his retreat from Athens, and his ill success at sea, had there resided.

CVIII. Xerxes, during his continuance at Sardis, had attached himself to the wife of Masistes, who happened to be there at the same time. He was unable to obtain his wishes by presents, and out of respect to his brother, he forbore to use violence. The woman, convinced that he would not force her, was restrained by the same consideration. Xerxes, perceiving his other efforts ineffectual, resolved to marry his own son Darius to the daughter of this woman by Masistes, thinking by these means to obtain the more easy accomplishment of his desires. The marriage being solemnized with the accustomed ceremonies, he departed for Susa. On

his arrival here, his son's wife was received into his palace: the wife of Masistes no longer engaged his attention, but changing the object of his passion, he connected himself with the wife of his son, the daughter of his brother. Her name was Artaynta*.

CIX. This intrigue was afterwards discovered in the following manner. Amestris[93] the wife of

* Maximus Tyrius, in one of the most entertaining of his dissertations, calls this woman erroneously Amestris.

Who inflamed, he says, the passions of the great king; not an Indian beauty, not a beauty of Media, nor of Mardis, nor of Caria, nor of Lydia, &c. &c. but *Amestris*, his daughter-in-law. Dissert. 26. Max. Tyr.

Maximus Tyrius was apt to quote from memory. He makes a similar mistake at the conclusion of this very dissertation, where he misquotes the inscription on the gate of Babylon, placed there by Nitocris. He does the same thing again in his 28th dissertation, where he misquotes the passage about Crœsus. Herodotus, book i. c. 6.

[93] *Amestris.*]—Many learned men, and Scaliger among others, pretend that this princess is the same with queen Esther. A vain similitude of name, the cruelty of Amestris, of which Herodotus gives various examples, the barbarity with which Esther treated the ten children of Haman, and the enemies of the Jews, have given rise to this supposition; but Esther was of a Jewish, Amestris of a Persian family. The father of this last was a satrap, named Onophas, according to Ctesias, and Otanes, according to Herodotus. If any stress were to be laid on a mere name, we might as well affirm that Esther was the same as Atossa, for she was also called Haadassa; but in my opinion, we ought not to conclude that Darius was the same with Ahasuerus.—*Larcher.*

Xerxes presented her husband with a large embroidered and beautiful vest, which she herself had made; Xerxes was much delighted with it, and putting it on, went to visit Artaynta; in an emotion of love, he desired her to ask as a compensation for her favours whatever she wished, promising faithfully to gratify her. To this, impelled by the evil destiny of her whole family, she replied; "And will you really, Sir, grant "me what I shall ask?" Xerxes, never supposing she would require what she did, promised with an oath that he would. The woman confidently demanded his robe. Xerxes at first refused her, fearing that Amestris would thus be convinced of what she had long suspected. Instead of what she solicited, he promised her cities, a prodigious quantity of gold, and the sole command[94] of a large body of troops; which last is among the Persians esteemed a most distinguished honour. Unable to change her purpose, he gave her the robe; delighted with which, she wore it with exultation.

CX. Amestris soon heard of her having it, and thus learning what had happened, was exasperated, not against the young woman herself,

94 *Sole command.*]—Evelthen, king of Cyprus, was more wise: he gave to Pheretima any thing rather than an army.—See b. iv. 162.—*Larcher.*

but against her mother, whom alone she considered as criminal, and the cause of the mischief: she accordingly determined on her destruction. Waiting therefore for the solemnity of the royal festival, which is held once in every year, on the birth-day of the king, she took this opportunity of requesting Xerxes to give her the wife of Masistes. This festival is called in the Persian tongue Tycta, in the Greek Teleion, or Perfect, upon which the king alone decorates his head, and makes presents to the Persians. Xerxes however thought the giving away the person of his brother's wife, both cruel and detestable. He was satisfied that she was innocent of the crime imputed to her, and he could not be ignorant with what motive Amestris had made her request.

CXI. Conquered at length by her importunity, as well as by the law of custom, which compelled the king on every occasion of this festival to give what was required of him, he granted what she asked, though with extreme reluctance: giving therefore the woman to his wife, he told her to use her as she might think proper; but he immediately sent for his brother, whom he thus addressed: "Masistes, you are a son of Darius, "and my brother; and besides this, you enjoy "a fair reputation; do not any more connect

"yourself with your present wife; I will give "you my daughter in her place. It is my "pleasure that you accept of her, and repudiate "the other." "Sir," replied Masistes, in great astonishment, "what am I to understand from "this discourse? would you have me reject a "woman agreeable to me in all respects, by "whom I have had three sons as well as "daughters; one of whom you have married "to your own son; and doing this, afterwards "marry your daughter? Indeed, O king, though "I esteem your offer as the highest honour, I "cannot accept it. Do not compel me to this "measure, for you can have no motive for doing "so; you may find a husband for your daughter "no less suitable than myself: suffer me there-"fore to live with my wife as usual." To this Xerxes in great anger made answer: "You "shall neither, Masistes, marry my daughter, "nor continue to enjoy your present wife, that "you may learn in future to accept what I "propose." Masistes upon this retired, saying only, "You have not, O king, taken away my "life."

CXII. Whilst Xerxes was engaged in this conference with his brother, Amestris, sending for the royal guards, mutilated the wife of Masistes, cutting off her breasts, and throwing them

to the dogs[95]. She afterwards cut off her nose, her ears, her lips, and her tongue, and in this condition sent her home.

CXIII. Masistes, entirely ignorant of what had happened, yet fearful of some impending calamity, returned hastily to his house. When he saw the situation of his wife, he immediately, after consulting with his children, fled with some adherents to Bactria, with the intention of ex-

---

[95] *To the dogs.*]—This horrid act of female cruelty in some degree justifies the strong expressions of Ovid:

Sed neque fulvus aper media tam sævus in ira est,
Fulmineo rapidos dum rotat ore canes,
Nec lea quum catulis lactantibus ubera præbet,
Nec brevis ignaro vipera læsa pede,
Fœmina quam socii deprehensa pellice lecti;
Audet, et in vultu pignora mentis habet,
In ferrum flammasque ruit.

See some instances of extraordinary female cruelty recorded by Stephens, in his Apology for Herodotus; one of which is so horrible, as almost to exceed the imagination. A young woman deserted by her lover, by whom she was with child, used violence to make herself miscarry three months before her time, and then murdered her infant with the most shocking and terrible barbarity. It is impossible, says Dr. Prideaux, that a woman of so vile and abominable a character as this Amestris was, could ever have been that queen of Persia, who by the name of Esther is so renowned in Holy Writ, and is there recorded as the instrument by which God was pleased in so signal a manner to deliver his people from that utter destruction which was designed against them.—*T.*

citing that province to revolt, and of doing the king essential injury. If he had once arrived in Bactria, among the Sacæ*, this I believe would have been accomplished; he was the governor of Bactria, and exceedingly beloved in his province. But Xerxes having intelligence of his designs, sent a body of forces against him, who intercepting him in his progress, put him, his children, and his followers to death. So much for the amour of Xerxes, and the death of Masistes.

CXIV. The Greeks, sailing from Mycale towards the Hellespont, were obliged by contrary winds to put in at Lectum: thence they proceeded to Abydos. Here they found the bridge, which they imagined was entire, and which was the principal object of their voyage, effectually broken down. They on this held a consultation; Leutychides, and the Lacedæmonians with him, were for returning to Greece; the Athenians, with their leader Xanthippus, advised them to

* *Sacæ.*]—The Sacæ must have been a very powerful and warlike tribe; they performed the most important services, first at Marathon, (Erato, 113) and afterwards at Platæa. They had in succeeding times a great share in overthrowing the Macedonian empire, and they made extensive conquests in Armenia. See Strabo.

Cyrus also, in his views upon Babylon, was prepared to meet with serious resistance from the Sacæ.

continue where they were, and make an attempt on the Chersonese. The Peloponnesians returned; but the Athenians, passing from Abydos to the Chersonese, laid siege to Sestos.

CXV. To this place, as by far the strongest in all that district, great numbers had retired from the neighbouring towns, as soon as it was known that the Greeks were in the Hellespont: among others was Œobazus of Cardia, a Persian who had previously collected here all that remained of the bridge. The town itself was possessed by the native Æolians, but they had with them a great number of Persians and other allies.

CXVI. The governor of this place under Xerxes, was Artayctes, a Persian, of a cruel and profligate character. He had imposed upon Xerxes, when on his way to Athens, and had fraudulently taken from Elæos, the wealth of Protesilaus[96], the son of Iphiclus. In Elæos of the

96 *Protesilaus.*]—He was a Thessalian: he went to the siege of Troy at the head of the troops of Phylace, Pyrrhasus, Itene, &c. He was killed by a Trojan as he disembarked. Various opinions are found in the Scholiast on Homer on this subject. Some affirm, according to that, that the Trojan who slew him was Æneas, others that it was Euphorbus. Some assign to Hector the honour of his death, others to Achates.—*Larcher.*

Chersonese, was a tomb of Protesilaus, with an enclosure round it, which had been erected to his honour. Here were considerable riches, a number of gold and silver vessels, besides brass, vests, and many votive offerings: of all these Artayctes possessed himself, having first insidiously obtained the king's sanction. "Sir," said he, "there is in this country the house of a "Greek, who entering your dominions with an "armed force, met with the death he merited. "Give it to me, as an example to others, not to "commit hostilities in your empire." The king, having no suspicion of his object, was without difficulty persuaded to grant him the house. Artayctes asserted that Protesilaus had committed hostilities within the king's dominions, because the Persians consider all Asia as their own[97], and the property of their reigning monarch. Having by the king been rendered master of all this wealth, he removed it to Sestos; the ground which it had before occupied at Elæos, he ploughed and planted; and as often as he went there afterwards, he enjoyed his wives in the sanctuary. At this time he was closely besieged by the Greeks, unprepared for defence, and not expecting these enemies, who came upon him by surprize.

[97] *As their own.*] – See book i. c. 135.

CXVII. Whilst they were prosecuting the siege, the autumn arrived. The Athenians, unable to make themselves masters of the place, and uneasy at being engaged in an expedition so far from their country, intreated their leaders to conduct them home. They, in return, refused to do this, till they should either succeed in their enterprize, or be recalled by the people of Athens; so intent were they on the business before them.

CXVIII. The besieged, under Artayctes, were reduced to such extremity of wretchedness, that they were obliged to boil for food, the cords of which their beds were composed. When these also were consumed, Artayctes, Œobazus, with some other Persians, fled, under cover of the night, escaping by an avenue behind the town, which happened not to be blockaded by the enemy. When the morning came, the people of the Chersonese made signals to the Athenians from the turrets, and opened to them the gates. The greater part commenced a pursuit of the Persians, the remainder took possession of the town.

CXIX. Œobazus fled into Thrace; but he was here seized by the Apsinthians, and sacrificed, according to their rites, to their god Pleis-

torus[98]: his followers were put to death in some other manner. Artayctes and his adherents, who fled the last, were overtaken near the waters of Ægos, where, after a vigorous defence, part were slain, and part taken prisoners. The Greeks put them all in chains, Artayctes and his son with the rest, and carried them to Sestos.

CXX. It is reported by the people of the Chersonese, that the following prodigy happened to one of those whose business was to guard the prisoners. This man was broiling some salt fish; having put them on the fire, they moved and skipped about like fish lately taken; the

---

98 *Pleistorus.*]—This deity, barbarous as the people by whom he was worshipped, is totally unknown. The sacrifices offered him induce me to conjecture, that it was the god of war, whom the Scythians represented under the form of a sword. These people, over a large vessel, cut the throat of every hundredth prisoner, wetting the sword with their blood. The same custom prevailed among the Huns. —See *Ammianus Marcellinus*, l. xxxi. c. 2. The Cilicians paid the god of war a worship savage like this; they suspended the victim, whether a man or an animal, from a tree, and going to a small distance, killed it with their spears. —*Larcher.*

Cruel as these customs may appear, yet prevailing among a rude and uncivilized people, they are more to be justified, than the unprovoked and unnatural inhumanity practised at Tauris. Here every stranger, whom accident or misfortune brought to their coast, was sacrificed to Diana.—See *The Iphigenia in Tauris of Euripides.*—*T.*

standers-by expressing their astonishment at this, Artayctes, who also beheld the prodigy, sent for the man to whom it had happened, and spoke to him as follows: "My Athenian friend, be not "alarmed at this prodigy, it has no reference "to you, it regards me alone. Protesilaus of "Eleæos, although dead and embalmed in salt, "shews that he has power from the gods to in-"flict vengeance on the man who injured him. "I am therefore disposed to satisfy him for my "ransom. In place of the money which I took "from his temple, I will give him a hundred "talents; for my son's life, and my own, I will "give the Athenians two hundred more." These offers had no effect upon Xanthippus the Athenian general; he was of himself inclined to put the man to death, to which he was farther importuned by the people of Eleæos, who were very earnest to have the cause of Protesilaus avenged. Conducting him therefore to the shore where the bridge of Xerxes had been constructed, they there crucified him; though some say this was done upon an eminence near the city of Madytus. The son was stoned in his father's presence.

CXXI. The Athenians, after the above transactions, returned to Greece, carrying with them, besides vast quantities of money, the fragments of the bridge, to be suspended in their temples.

During the remainder of the year they continued inactive.

CXXII. Of this Artayctes, who was crucified, the grandfather by the father's side was Artembares, who drew up an address for the Persians, which they approving, presented to Cyrus; it was to this effect: "Since, O Cyrus, Jupiter "has given to the Persians, and by the degra- "dation of Astyages to you, uncontrolled domi- "nion, suffer us to remove from our present con- "fined and sterile region to a better. We have "the choice of many, near and at a distance; "let us occupy one of these, and become ex- "amples of admiration to the rest of mankind. "This is a conduct becoming those whose supe- "riority is conspicuous; we can never have a "fairer opportunity of doing this, being at the "head of so many people, and masters of all "Asia." Cyrus, though he did not approve what they said, told them they might do so; but he added, that by taking such a step, they must learn in future not to command, but to obey. It was the operation of nature, that luxurious countries should render men effeminate[99], for delica-

[99] *Effeminate.*]—Hippocrates confirms what is here asserted by Herodotus. After describing the advantages which the temperate parts of Asia possess over Greece; he adds,

cies and heroes were seldom the produce of the same soil. The Persians yielded to these sentiments of Cyrus, and abandoned their own. They chose rather a less pleasant country with dominion, than a fairer one with servitude.

---

that the men there are not naturally valiant, and are unwilling to support fatigues and hardships. This sentiment is approved by experience. Greece subdued Asia, the Romans became masters of both those countries, and if they also conquered the Gauls, the Germans, and other nations of the north, it was because these were undisciplined, and ignorant of the art of war. When they became so, they in their turn subdued the lords of the world, and dismembered their empire. The Franks vanquished the Gauls the Lombards, and the Visigothe of Spain. In a word, it is always to be observed, that the people of the north have the advantage over those of the south.—*Larcher.*

The ninth cannot be thought the least interesting of the books of Herodotus. The battles of Platæa and Mycale would alone claim attention, without those beautiful moral sentiments which we find every where interspersed in it. The behaviour of Pausanias after his victory, his dignity, moderation, and modesty, are admirably described; his continence, with respect to the mistress of Pharandates, may, for any thing I see to the contrary in either history, well be put on a par with the so much vaunted temperance of Scipio on a similar occasion. The concluding sentiment, which teaches that the dispositions of men should be conformed to the nature of the soil and climate in which they are born, is alike admirable for the simplicity with which it is conveyed, and the philosophic truth which it inculcates.—*T.*

INDEX.

N. B. The numerical letters—i. ii. iii. iv. direct to the volumes; the figures to the page; and the letter—n—to the notes.

A.

ABANTES, why they cut off their hair before, i. 211, n.
Abaris, story of . . . . ii. 389
Abdera, many singularities related of . i. 231, n.
— stigmatized by Juvenal . . iv. 39, n.
Abderites, Xerxes makes a treaty of friendship with, iv. 282
Abrocomus and Hyperanthes, brothers of Xerxes, fall in contending for the body of Leonidas . iv. 151
Abyssinia, lapidation a punishment in . iv. 311, n.
Abyssinians, said to eat raw flesh from the living ox, ... ii. 278, n.
Acanthians presented by Xerxes with a Median vest, iv. 44
Accomplishments, personal, Philip of Crotona honoured by the Ægestæ for, - - - iii. 165
Acephali have their eyes in their breasts . iii. 98
Aces, the river, its passage prevented by the Persians, ii. 301
Achæmenes, son of Darius . . . ii. 148
— is entrusted by Xerxes with the government of Ægypt, ... iii. 426
— his advice relative to the Grecian war is pursued by Xerxes . . . . . iv. 166
— is slain by Inarus . . . . iii. 426
Achelous, a river in Ægypt . . . i. 305
Acheron . . . . . iv. 207, n.
Adimantus, the Athenian, had an honourable epitaph inscribed on his tomb . . . . iv. 173, n.
Adimantus, the Corinthian, is prevented by Themistocles from flying before the Persians, iv. 172—is reproved by Themistocles, 218—said to have fled at the commencement of the battle of Salamis . iv. 255

Adonis, his rites in Phrygia represented the access and recess of the sun . . . iv. 317, n.
Adoption always performed by the Spartans in presence of the king, iii. 320—more frequent amongst the Romans than amongst the Greeks . . iii. 320, n.
Adrastus, son of Gordius, having unwillingly killed his brother, receives expiation from Crœsus, i. 71—is entrusted by Crœsus with the care of his son Atys in the hunting of a wild boar, 76—missing his aim at the boar, kills Atys, 77—kills himself on the tomb of Atys . i. 80
Adrastus, the son of Talaus, sacrifices and festivals appropriated to him by the Sicyonians, assigned by Clisthenes to Melampus . . . . iii. 197
Adyrmachidæ, a people of Africa, their customs . iii. 69
Æaces, son of Syloson, prevails on all the Samian leaders, except eleven, to withdraw their assistance from the Ionians, iii. 271—the Phœnicians ordered by the Persians to replace him in Samos, as a reward of his services . . . . . iii. 287
Æacidæ . . . . . iii. 212; iv. 222
Æacus, an edifice erected by the Athenians sacred to him, ... iii. 221
— his aid intreated by the Greeks . . iv. 222
Ægaleos, mount, Xerxes viewed the battle at Salamis from, ... iv. 252
Ægeus, son of Pandion, ... i. 236
Ægidæ, whence their name, iii. 47—build a shrine to the furies . . . . . iii. 47
Æginetæ, their resentment to the Samians . ii. 219
— assist the Thebans against the Athenians, iii. 212—occasion of their enmity with the Athenians, 213—by their compliance with the demands of Darius, give great offence to the Athenians, 309—are accused by the Athenians at Sparta of betraying the liberties of Greece, 310—oppose and repulse Cleomenes, who endeavoured to seize the persons of the accused, 310—send hostages to Cleomenes, 339—commit an act of violence on the Athenians at Sunium, 358—are betrayed to the Athenians by Nicodromus, 359—the principal citizens, for their impiety against the temple of Ceres Thesmophoros, are driven from Ægina, 361—are defeated by the Athenians, and denied assistance by the Argives, 361—obtain a victory over the Athenian fleet . iii. 362
— supply the Greeks with thirty vessels, iv. 206—are Dorians, 206—distinguish themselves in the battle at Salamis, 255—their offering at Delphi, 283—become exceedingly rich by their purchases of the spoil after the battle of Platæa . . iv. 388

Ægis, derivation of the word . . . . iii. 97
Ægium, answer of the oracle to the people of . i. 211, n.
— famous for pipers . . . . iv. 88, n.
Ægypt described, i. 294—has large additions of land from the mud of the Nile, 294—its extent, 297—its soil, 298, n.—its pyramids. See *Pyramids*.—its extent and principal divisions, 300, n.—an acrid matter exudes from its soil, which injures the pyramids, 309—blindness caused by the nitrous quality of its atmosphere, 310, n.—never fertilized by rain, 312—fertility of the country below Memphis, 314—formerly called Thebes, 318—constitutes the natural and proper limits of Asia and Africa, 319—claims admiration beyond all other countries, 345—visited by several eminent Greeks, 373, n.—its modern annual fairs, 382, n.; 383, n.—great number of its domestic animals, 391—increase of cats, how frustrated there, 392—the crocodile, 396—hippopotamus, 401—phœnix, 404—serpents, 406—ibis, 408—healthiness of its climate, 412—has no vines, 412—this contradicted, 412, n.—the lotos, 434—byblus, 435—fish, their mode of propagation, 436—kings of Egypt, ... i. 441. 443.
— its canals, ii. 12—its kings had many names and titles, 34, n.—no ruins of bricks burnt in the fire, such as the Israelites made, 65, n.—its cities, by what means elevated in the reign of Sabacus, 66—temple of Bubastis, 66—its kings must not be ignorant of sacred affairs, 70, n.—in former times governed by immortal beings, 78—its twelve kings, 83—labyrinth near Mœris, 84—lake Mœris, 87—canal leading to the Red Sea, 101—is divided into provinces, 109—in the reign of Amasis, contained 20,000 cities well inhabited, 124—three millions of inhabitants according to Diodorus Siculus, 124, n.—number of its inhabitants at present, 124, n.—Neucratis formerly its sole emporium, 126—its utter destruction threatened by Cambyses, when only ten years of age, 137—rain at the Ægyptian Thebes a prodigy, 145—prophecy in Ezekiel, concerning it, literally fulfilled, 154, n.—its tribute to Darius, 270—infested by flying serpents . . . . ii. 290
— more effectually reduced by Xerxes than it had been by Darius; and the government of it entrusted to Achæmenes . . . . . iii. 425
Ægyptians, ancient, had no statues in their temples, i. 193, n.—esteemed the Phrygians more ancient than themselves, and themselves than the rest of mankind, 290—first defined the measure of the year, 293—invented the names of the twelve gods, 293—first erected altars, shrines,

and temples, and engraved the figures of animals on stone, 294—most ancient of the human race, 317—their singular institutions and manners, 345—occupations of the men and women, 345—their men have the management of the loom, 345—have one mark of superstition in common with the Mahometans, 347, n.—manner of wearing their hair, 348—animals live promiscuously with them, 349—their corn, 349—circumcise their males, 351—the men have two vests, the women only one, 351—write from left to right, 352—have two sorts of letters, 352—their superstitions, 353—their linen, 353, n.—their priests, 354—have a great abhorrence of blood, 354, n.—will not eat beans, 356—esteem bulls sacred to Epaphus, 357—their mode of sacrifice, 357—imprecate the heads of beasts, 359—will not eat of the head of any beast, 359—flagellate themselves, 360—worship Isis, 360—venerate cows beyond all other cattle, 360—many of their customs resemble those of the Hindoos, 360, n.—their aversion to the Greeks, 361—would not eat with strangers, 361, n.—put no cattle to death, 362—their god Osiris the Grecian Bacchus, 362—why their statues of Jupiter represent him with a ram's head, 363—worship Hercules, 365—animals sacrificed by them, 368—the Mendesians refuse to sacrifice goats out of reverence to Pan, 368—regard the hog as unclean, 369—sacrifice swine to Bacchus and Luna, 370—communicated to Greece the names of almost all the gods, 374—names of gods not familiar in Ægypt, 375—their public festivals, 382—a cheerful people, 383, n.—have no festivals without illuminations, 386, n.—do not connect themselves with women in their temples, 389—regard all beasts as sacred, 389—are compelled by their laws to cherish them, 389—venerate cats, 390, n.—great number of their domestic animals, 391—lament the deaths of cats and dogs, 392—bury their animals, 394—some esteem the crocodile sacred, others treat it as an enemy, 399—the Ægyptians of Papremis esteem the hippopotamus sacred, 401—venerate otters, the fish lepidotus and the eel, and the birds chenalopex, and the phœnix, 403—worship serpents, 406—often represented the gods with the body and tail of a serpent, 407, n.—hold the ibis in great reverence, 409—pay great attention to the improvement of their memory, and to their health, 410—their bread, 412—drink a liquor fermented from barley, 413—live principally upon fish, 413. 436—famous for their vinegar, 413, n.—a custom at their entertainments, 416—averse to foreign manners, 416—an ancient song among them, 417—their reverence to

age, 418—their dress, 419—first imagined what month or day was to be consecrated to each deity, 420—cast nativities, 421—their oracles, 421—medicine, 422—funerals, 423—modes of embalming, 424—their great knowledge of chemistry, 424, n.—their rules concerning embalming, 428—worshipped the Nile, 429, n.—manners of those who inhabit the marshy grounds not materially different from those in the higher parts, 433—confine themselves to one wife, 434—their use of the lotos, 434—their use of the byblus, 435—those in the lower parts make use of the oil kiki, 437—their remedy against gnats, 438—their vessels of burden . i. 438.

Ægyptians, the ancient Ægyptians, real negroes, ii. 4, n.—from time immemorial used circumcision, 4—not possible to say whether they or the Æthiopians first introduced circumcision, 6—their linen like that of the Colchians, 6—their great corruption of manners in the time of Pheron, 17, n.—detested human sacrifices, 26, n.—their chronology, by what means greatly embarrassed, 35, n.—their festival on the return of Rhampsinitus from the infernal regions, 35—the first who defended the immortality of the soul, 36—believe the metempsychosis, 37—the pyramids a proof of their slavery, 39, n.—are forbidden to offer sacrifices, and oppressed by Cheops, 40—their oppression under Cheops, and his brother Chephren, continued for 106 years, 51—Mr. Gifford's remarks on their superstitions and ignorance in the time of Herodotus referred to, 52, n.—are again permitted to offer sacrifice by Mycerinus, the successor of Chephren, 53—their kings must not be ignorant of sacred affairs, 70, n.—were divided into three classes, 72, n.—from their first king to their last, a period of 341 generations, 74—every high priest places a wooden figure of himself in a temple, 77—held two principles, one good, the other evil, 79, n.—esteem Pan the most ancient of the gods, 80—profess always to have computed the years, and kept written accounts of them, 81—on the death of Sethos, chuse twelve kings, 83—who banish Psammetichus, one of their number, 94—but are at length expelled by him, 96—term all barbarians who speak a language different from their own, 103—are divided into seven classes, 108—the sons of certain artists obliged to follow the profession of their father, 111, n.—resemblance between the ancient Ægyptians and the Hindoos, 111, n.—their soldiers and priests, the only ranks honourably distinguished, 112—in the reign of Amasis, had 20,000 cities well inhabited, 124—three millions of inhabitants in the time of Diodorus Siculus,

124, n.—their number at present, 124, n.—every one obliged once in the year, to explain to the chief magistrate the means of his subsistence, 124—a restriction of theirs with respect to trading vessels, similar to that of the Chinese at Canton, 126, n.—contributed largely to the rebuilding of the temple of Delphi, 127—defeated by the Persians under Cambyses, 147—the hardness of their heads, 147—shave their heads from a very early age, 148—after their defeat by Cambyses, fly to Memphis, 148—destroy the crew of a Mitylenian ship at Memphis, 149—are beseiged by Cambyses at Memphis, and surrender, 149—venerated fire as a divinity, 156, n.—why they never burn their dead, 156—significancy of the judgment on their kine by the hand of Moses, ... ii. 177, n.

Ægyptians, reduced by Cambyses, revolt from the Persians, iii. 417—with the Phœnicians, have the care of transporting provisions for the army of Xerxes, in his expedition to Greece . . . . iii. 451

— supply Xerxes with two hundred vessels, iv. 21—expert and graceful in swimming . . iv. 251, n.

Æolians subdued by Crœsus, i. 35—their offer of allegiance rejected by Cyrus, 206—their cities, 215—called Pelasgi at the siege of Troy, 215, n.—send ambassadors to Sparta to request assistance from the Lacedæmonians against Cyrus, who refuse it, and yet threaten Cyrus for any injury to the Grecian cities . . i. 217

— Datis the Mede takes them with his army against Eretria, ... iii. 366

— assist Xerxes with sixty ships . . iv. 24

Æschylus . . . . . ii. 100

Æsop, his conversation with Solon at Sardis . i. 68, n.

— the fables under his name not his, ii. 60, n.—little concerning him can be ascertained as fact, 60, n.—not deformed ii. 60, n.

— called Theta . . . iii. 225, n.

Æthiopia, rain and ice unknown in, i. 326—this contradicted, ... i. 326, n.

— its produce . . . . ii. 297

Æthiopians, i. 334—eighteen of them kings of Ægypt, i. 143

— from time immemorial used circumcision, ii. 4—not possible to say whether they or the Ægyptians first introduced circumcision, 6—origin of the fable of the gods going to visit them for twelve days, 159, n.—subdued by Cambyses, 275—their customs . ii. 275

— assist Xerxes in his expedition to Greece, iv. 9—cut their seals with a stone, 9—difference between the eastern and western iv. 9

Æthiopians, Macrobian, ii. 158. 160—term of their lives, 166—their food, 167—Cambyses marches against them with a part of his army, and loses a considerable number of men . . . . . ii. 171
Ætolians, a shocking character of them . iv. 236, n.
Africa first discovered by Necho, king of Ægypt, to be surrounded by the sea, ii. 393—Sataspes desists from sailing round it . . . . . ii. 396
— various nations of, iii. 69—barren of wood, 79—in some parts it never rains, 93—Herodotus's account of it interesting, 96, n.—its animals, 101—in goodness of soil not comparable to Asia or Europe . iii. 109
Africans, nearest to Ægypt, submit to Cambyses ii. 149
— prevent the Greeks from seeing Irasa, iii. 57—from Ægypt as far as lake Tritonis lead a pastoral life, and live on flesh and milk, 94—to the west of the lake Tritonis not shepherds, 94—customs of the African shepherds with respect to their children, 95—more exempt from disease than other men, 95—their mode of sacrifice, 96—all adore the sun and moon . . iii. 96
Agarista, daughter of Clisthenes, mode of her father's disposing of her in marriage, iii. 400—given by her father to Megacles, son of Alcmæon . . iii. 406
Agarista, daughter of Hippocrates . . iii. 407
Agasicles, of Halicarnassus, violated the custom of the temple of Triope . . . . . i. 209
Agathoërgoi . . . . . i. 111
Agathyrsi . . . . . iii. 7. 25
Age, reverence paid to, by the Ægyptians and Lacedæmonians . . . . . i. 418
Agetus, son of Alcides, his wife, from being remarkable for her ugliness, becomes exceedingly beautiful, iii. 325—his wife is by artifice obtained by Ariston, who by her has Demaratus . . . . iii. 325
Agylla, men and cattle seized with convulsions on approaching a certain spot . . . . i. 230
Ahasuerus the subject of much etymological investigation, ... i. 249, n.
Ajax, son of Telamon . . . . iii. 194
— invoked by the Greeks at Salamis, iv. 222—a vessel consecrated to him by the Greeks . iv. 282
Aimnestus slays Mardonius in the battle of Platæa iv. 374
Alabaster, whence its name . . ii. 161, n.
Alcæus, the son of Hercules . . i. 36
Alcæus, the poet, fled from the field, iii. 235—some account of, ... iii. 235, n.
Alcmæon, son of Megacles, by the permission of Crœsus, takes with him from Sardis all the gold he can carry iii. 398
Alcmæonidæ, construct the temple of Delphi, iii. 187—bribe

the Pythian to propose to every Spartan who consulted her the deliverance of Athens, 188—a shield said to be held up by one of them as a signal to the Persians on their retreat from Marathon, 390—but this an incredible story, 398—always amongst the most distinguished characters of Athens, 398—the family raised by Clisthenes, ... iii. 399

Aleuadæ send messengers from Thessaly, imploring Xerxes to invade Greece . . . . iii. 424

— the first Greeks who submitted to Xerxes . iv. 55

Alexander, son of Priam, resolves to obtain a wife from Greece, ... i. 30

Alexander, son of Amyntas, by stratagem procures the death of seven Persians sent by Megabyzus to demand earth and water, iii. 138—gives his sister in marriage to Bubaris, and thus prevents an enquiry into the assassination of the seven Persians . . . iii. 139

— dissuades the Greeks from proceeding towards Thessaly to defend the Olympic straits against Xerxes, iv. 106—a golden statue of him at Delphi, 283—is sent ambassador by Mardonius to procure an alliance with the Athenians, 293—his descent from Perdiccas, 298—his speech at Athens, 299 — betrays Mardonius to the Greeks . . . . iv. 353

Alexander the Great, his order to his troops to cut off their hair . . . . i. 211, n.

— story of his birth similar to that of the birth of Demaratus, iii. 333, n.—by an act of violence on the Pythian, obtained the answer he wished for . iii. 348, n.

Algerines, their ceremony in marriage . iii. 77, n.

Allegory, partiality of the ancients to . iii. 30, n.

Alliances ratified by ancient and modern nations by wounding themselves and reciprocally drinking the blood, ... i. 122, n.

— how made by the Arabians, ii. 142—by the Scythians, ... ii. 427

Altar of the twelve deities at Athens . i. 298; iii. 382

— at Delphi, presented by the Chians . ii. 63

— of Hercules . . . . iv. 109

— of Jupiter Forensis . . . iii. 165

— of Orthosian Diana . . ii. 451

— of the winds . . . iv. 110

Altars, none among the Persians, i. 193—first erected by the Ægyptians . . . i. 294

Alyattes, king of Sardis, i. 47—resumes his father's war against the Milesians, 48—and puts an end to it, 52—erects two temples to Minerva, 52—his death, 56—his sepulchre described, 149—the description of his sepulchre by Herodotus considered by Mr. King as ex-

actly corresponding with a large British or Irish barrow . . . . . i. 150, n.
Alyattes, king of Sardis, story of him and a Thracian woman, ... iii. 130, n.
Amasis rebels against Apries, king of Ægypt, ii. 107—takes Apries prisoner, and treats him with kindness, till the Ægyptians strangle him, 114—succeeds to the throne of Ægypt, 118—instance of his political sagacity, 118—his regulation of his time, 119—erects a magnificent portico in honour of Minerva . . ii. 121—brings an edifice from Elephantine constructed of one entire stone, ii. 122—colossal statues placed by him, 123—built the temple of Isis, at Memphis, 123—partial to the Greeks, 125—gives 1000 talents of alum towards rebuilding the temple of Delphi, 127—makes an amicable confederacy with the Cyrenians, 127—marries Ladice, 127—is afflicted with imbecility, but his vigour is restored, 127—his liberality to Greece, 128—sends his portrait to Cyrene, 128—the first that conquered Cyprus, 131—Cambyses leads an army against him, 133—dies before Cambyses advances to Ægypt, 145—succeeded by his son Psammenitus, 145—his dead body insulted by Cambyses, 155—his advice to Polycrates, 193—his motives for withdrawing his alliance with him, 198—foretold the death of Polycrates, ii. 314
Amasis, a Maraphian, entrusted by Aryandes with the conduct of an army against the Barceans, iii. 68—his stratagem at the siege of Barce . iii. 112
Amathusia besieged by Onesilus, iii. 245—a name of Cyprus . . . . iii. 244, n.
Amazons, by the Scythians called men-slayers, iii. 12—subdued by the Greeks at Thermoden, iii. 12; iv. 337—plunder the Scythians, iii. 13—conciliated to the Scythians, 15—their manners and customs . iii. 17
Ambassadors, their persons sacred, except at Constantinople, ... ii. 223, n.
Amber carried from Europe into Greece, ii. 299—its name and uses . . . . ii. 299, n.
America, whence peopled . . ii. 419, n.
Amestris, wife of Xerxes, commanded fourteen Persian children of illustrious birth to be interred alive, iv. 43—discovers the intrigue of Xerxes with Artaynta, 413—not the same with queen Esther, 413, n.; 417, n.—her cruelty to the wife of Masistes . iv. 416
Amilcar, conquered by Gelon and Thelon, disappeared, and was never seen afterwards, iv. 96—according to Polyænus destroyed by Gelon by stratagem, 96, n.—honoured by the Carthaginians as a divinity . iv. 97
Aminias of Pallene iv. 255

Aminocles, son of Cratinus iv. 122
Ammon . . iii. 87, n.
Ammonians, iii. 87—derivation of their name, 87, n.—their fountain of water . . . . iii. 88
Amompharetus, son of Poliadas, iv. 361—behaves well at the battle of Platæa . . . . iv. 379
Amphiaraus, his oracle, i. 81, and n.—Crœsus sends presents to him . . . . . i. 88
— no Theban allowed to sleep in his temple . iv. 292
Amphictyons . . iii. 187, n.; iv. 131, n.
Amphilochus, his oracle . . . ii. 269, n.
Amphytrion, his present to the temple of the Ismenian Apollo at Thebes . . iii. 185
Amyntas gives the Persians earth and water . iii. 134
Amyrtæus discovers the island Elbo . . ii. 70
Anacharsis, the Scythian, his superior learning and accomplishments, ii. 401—visits a large part of the habitable world, and returns to Scythia, 436—institutes the rites in honour of Cybele which he had seen performed at Cyzicus, 437—is killed by Saulius, the Scythian king, 438—his descent . . . ii. 438
Anacreon of Teos, ii. 308—many doubt whether the works ascribed to him are genuine . ii. 308, n.
Anaxandrides, king of Sparta, married two wives, and had two separate dwellings, contrary to the usage of his country, iii. 157, 158—his sons by each of his wives, 158—an apophthegm of his . . iii. 159, n.
Anaxilaus, prince of Rhegium, persuades the Samians to possess themselves of Zancle . . . iii. 284
Anchimolius, son of Aster, conducts the Lacedæmonian army against the Pisistratidæ, iii. 188—is killed iii. 189
Anchors, particulars respecting . iii. 269, n.
Ancients, their paintings . . . ii. 129, n.
— their symbols of their deities . . i. 193, n.
— their engravings on precious stones, ii. 196, n.—their works in miniature, 196, n.—their modes of counting, ... ii. 459, n.
— fond of an enigmatical way of speaking and acting, iii. 30, n.—in their military expeditions made use of persons of loud voices, 39, n.—their curious contrivances for conveying secret intelligence, 152, n.—their various uses of the olive, 171, n.—their notions respecting dreams and visions, 178, n.—gave the letters of the alphabet as nicknames, 225, n.—their customs respecting hospitality, 278, n.—their superstition in the belief of prodigies, 287, n.—frequently considered madness as annexed by the gods to more atrocious acts, 342, n.—generally deemed fire an auspicious omen iii. 349, n.

Ancients thought the safety of a nation might be secured, or the life of an individual be preserved, by the voluntary death of one or more persons, iv. 58, n.—originally used only the four cardinal winds, 119, n.—in more remote times sat at table, 322, n.—their sentiments on the bodies of the dead remaining unburied, iv. 335, n.
Andromeda . . . . . iv. 5
Androphagi . . . . . iii. 8
Andros besieged by the Greeks . . iv. 375
Androsphynges . . . . . ii. 121
Aneristus, son of Sperthies, put to death by the Athenians, ... iv. 62
Animals, their figures first engraved on stone by the Ægyptians, i. 291—live promiscuously with the Ægyptians, 349—their heads imprecated by the Ægyptians in sacrifice, 358—their heads never eaten by the Ægyptians, 359—none sacrificed by the Ægyptians, except swine, bulls, male calves without blemish, and geese, 368—held sacred and cherished by the laws of Ægypt, 389—great number of domestic animals there, 391—buried by the Ægyptians . . . i. 394
— none put to death by the Aritonian Indians, ii. 279—fierce and venomous, less prolific than others ii. 291
Anointing the body practised by the Scythians, ii. 435—necessity of it in hot climates . . ii. 435. n.
Antayctes, governor of Sestos, crucified alive . iii. 457
Antigone, her piety towards her brother's corpse, ii. 305, n.
Ants, in India, bigger than a fox, and cast up sand mixed with gold-dust . . . ii. 281
Anubis, why represented with a dog's head . i. 393, n.
— had the name of Mercury among the Ægyptians, ii. 68, n.
Anysis, king of Ægypt, succeeds Asychis, ii. 65—flies before the army of Sabacus, who obtains his authority, 66—resumes his government, 69—is succeeded by Sethos, ... ii. 70
Apaturian festival . . . . . i. 213
Apis, edifice built for, by Psammetichus, ii. 96—Ægyptians rejoice on his appearance, 175—particulars concerning, ... ii. 175, n.
— cleared the Peloponnese of serpents, whence called Serapis . . . iv. 236, n.; 319, n.
Apollo, his statue at Mount Thornax . . i. 115
— preserved by Latona, ii. 99—the crow sacred to, 368, n.
— his fountain in Africa . . . iii. 57
— Carnian festival, in honour of . . iv. 136
Apollo, of Delphi, his oracle without appeal, i. 80, n.—his oracle reproached by Crœsus . . i. 143
Apollo, Didymean, his magnificent temple . . i. 82, n.
— why so called . . . iii. 276, n.

Apollo, Ismenian . . . . . i. 147
— inscriptions on tripods in his temple at Thebes . iii. 185
Apollo Orus . . . . . ii. 79, 100
— his oracle in Ægypt . . . . . i. 421
Apollo Pœan . . . . . iii. 118, n.
Apple, carved by the Babylonians on the tops of their walking-sticks . . . . . i. 266
Apries, king of Ægypt, attacks Cyrene, where his army is routed . . . . . iii. 58
— succeeds his father, ii. 105—in scripture called Pharaoh Hophra, 105, n.—his ill success, 106—taken prisoner by Amasis, 114—strangled by the Ægyptians, 114—passages of scripture alluding to him . ii. 114, n.
Apsinthians, sacrifice Œobazus to their god Pleistorus, iv. 421
Arabia, its products, ii. 289—infested by flying serpents, 290
Arabians, ceremonies used by them in making alliances, ii. 142—Bacchus and Urania the only deities they venerate, 143—their independence always a theme of praise and admiration . . . ii. 263, n.
Araxes, river, customs of the islanders in . . i. 274
Arcadia, particulars respecting . . . iv. 234, n.
Arcadians opposed the claim of the Athenians to antiquity, iv. 92, n.—conjecture of their original name, iv. 92, n.
Arcesilaus, king of the Cyreneans, strangled by his brother Aliarchus . . . . . iii. 60
Arcesilaus, son of the lame Battus, and king of the Cyreneans, flies to Samos, iii. 61—returns to Cyrene, and recovers his authority, 63—is put to death at Barce, having violated the injunctions of the oracle . . iii. 64
Archetimus, story of him and Cydias . iii. 357, n.
Archias, his valour . . . . ii. 212
Archidice, a Grecian courtesan, ii. 63—story of her, 63, n.
Archilochus, of Paros . . . . i. 43
Archimedes, whence he derived the idea of his screw, ii. 10, n.
Ardys, son of Gages, conquers the Prienians, and attacks Miletus . . . . . i. 47
Areopagus, the court of the . . . iv. 212, n.
Arganthonius, king of the Tartessians, lived to the age of one hundred and twenty . . . . i. 226
Agrippæi, account of . . . . ii. 373
Argis, an Hyperborean virgin, honoured by the Delians, ... ii. 387
Argives, battle between them and the Lacedæmonians, for Thyrea . . . . . i. 129
— the most skilful musicians of Greece . . ii. 321
— advance to the sea to repel Cleomenes, iii. 345—their women taking arms repel Cleomenes with the loss of numbers, 345, n.—are attacked by stratagem, and those

who escape take refuge in the grove of Argos, which is burnt by Cleomenes, 347—the slaves, usurping the management of affairs, are expelled, and retire to Tyrinthes, but are at last subdued, 350—refuse assistance to the Athenians against Ægina . . iii. 361

Argives evade giving assistance to the Greeks against Xerxes, iv. 74—Xerxes claims kindred with them, 76—said to have first invited the Persian to invade Greece, 79—invite Melampus to cure a madness amongst their women . . . . . iv. 344

Argonautic expedition . . . . iii. 83

Argonauts, their posterity, expelled from Lemnos, settle among the Lacedæmonians, iii. 43—are cast into prison for their intemperance, but escape by an artifice of their wives . . . . iii. 44

Argos, formerly the most famous state of Greece . i. 28

— whence its name, iii. 343, n.; iv. 236, n.—Cleomenes sets fire to the sacred wood of . . iii. 347

— famous for caldrons . . . . iv. 88, n.

Ariabignes, son of Darius . . iv. 25. 251

Arimaspi, a people of Europe said to have but one eye, ... ii. 300. 364

Arian, the Methymnæan, carried to Tænarus on the back of a dolphin, i. 52—excelled on the harp, 52—Larcher's explanation of his story . . 55, n.

Aristagoras, governor of Miletus, iii. 146—prevails on Artaphernes to procure forces from Darius against Naxos, 149—revolts against Darius, 155—establishes a republican form of government in Ionia, 155—sails to Lacedæmon to procure allies, 156—attempts to induce Cleomenes, king of Sparta, to undertake the conquest of Asia, 167; but is dismissed without success, 173—goes to Athens, which had recovered its liberty, 177—recommends to the Athenians a war with Persia, 237—procures a return of the Pæonians, taken captive by Megabyzus, to their native country, 239—joined by the Athenians and Eretrians, commences an expedition against Sardis, 240—resolves on flight, 256—leaves Miletus to the care of Pythagoras, 257—takes possession of a district in Thrace, proceeds to the attack of another place, and falls with his army by the hands of the Thracians . . iii. 257

Aristeas, the poet, his strange story . . ii. 364

Aristides, son of Lysimachus, his share in the victory of the Athenians at Marathon . . iii. 387, n.

— banished by a vote of the people, iv. 241—lays aside his animosity towards Themistocles for the good of his country, 242—during the battle of Salamis lands at

Psittaleia, and puts every Persian there to death, 257—commands 8,000 Athenians at the battle of Platæa, iv. 339

Aristodemus, son of Aristomachus, said by the Lacedæmonians to have first introduced them into the region which they inhabit . . . . iii. 311

Aristodemus, of Sparta, receives the opprobrious name of trembler, iv. 157—at the battle of Platæa atones for his former conduct, 157—has no respect paid him after the battle of Platæa . . . . iv. 379

Aristogiton, with Harmodius, puts Hipparchus to death, ... iii. 177

Ariston, king of Sparta, marries three wives, iii. 323—artfully obtains the wife of his friend Agetus, and by her has Demaratus, 325—dies, and is succeeded by Demaratus, ... iii. 328

Aristotle reported to have destroyed himself at Euripus, from mortification . . . . iii. 207, n.

Arithmetic, its first introduction uncertain, ii. 459, n.—mode of counting used by the ancients . ii. 459, n.

Aritonians . . . . ii. 280, n.

Ark of Noah considered as prophetic, and a kind of temple of the deity . . . . . ii. 80, n.

Armenians, said to have great plenty of cattle . iii. 169

Arms, the highest degrees of honour annexed to the exercise of . . . . ii. 112

Army, reflections on a standing one. . ii. 109, n.

— how disposed by the Romans in attacking an enemy, and by the Greeks . . . . iii. 430, n.

— the followers exceed the regulars, in the Eastern countries . . . . iv. 4, n.

Artabanus, son of Hystaspes, endeavours to dissuade Darius from his expedition against Scythia . ii. 446

— his speech to Xerxes against the Athenian war, iii. 432—in consequence of a vision recommends to Xerxes the prosecution of the Athenian war, 444—his conversation with Xerxes on his weeping at the sight of his army, 473—expresses his fears of success in the Athenian war, 474—is dismissed by Xerxes to Susa . iii. 479

Artabazanes, son of Darius, disputes with Xerxes the succession to the throne . . iii. 418

Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, leader of the Parthians and Chorasmians, iv. 8—accompanies Xerxes in his retreat over the Hellespont, 286—besieges Potidæa, and takes Olynthus, 287—is compelled by an inundation to retire from Potidæa, 288—joins Mardonius in Thessaly, 288—his advice to Mardonius previous to the battle of Platæa, 350—his measures with respect to Mardonius, 375—flies with his troops towards Phocis after the battle of

Platæa, 375—flies from Platæa to the Thessalians, 396—by artifice escapes to Asia . . . iv. 397
Artachæes buried by Xerxes with great magnificence, iv. 44
Artanes, brother of Darius . . . . . iv. 151
Artaphernes, son of Hystaspes, and brother of Darius, is left governor of Sardis, iii. 143—with Otanes, takes Clazomenæ and Cyma, 256—his expression to Histiæus on the fate of Aristagoras, 259—intercepts letters from Histiæus to certain Persians at Sardis, and puts a great number of Persians to death, 261—with Harpagus, crucifies Histiæus the Milesian, 292—his useful regulations among the Ionians . . . iii. 303
Artaphernes, son of Artaphernes, together with Datis, is commanded by Darius to subdue Eretria and Athens, iii. 363—with Datis carries the captive Eretrians to Susa, ... iii. 393
Artaxerxes, meaning of his name . . . iii. 367
Artayctes, his cruelty and profligacy, iv. 419—taken captive by the Greeks, 422—his son stoned in his presence, and himself crucified . . . . iv. 423
Artaynta, Xerxes' intrigue with, how discovered iv. 413
Artayntes reproached by Masistes for behaving like a woman iv. 411
Artembares iv. 424
Artembaris . . . . . i. 178
Artemisia, daughter of Lygdamis, serves in the Grecian expedition under Xerxes, iv. 27—two of this name, 27, n.—her free advice to Xerxes, against risking a battle with the Greeks, 230—her stratagem in the battle of Salamis, 249—is pursued by Aminias, a price being set on her head by the Greeks; but escapes to Phalerum, 255—her advice to Xerxes concerning the continuance of the Grecian war, 264—is directed by Xerxes to retire to Ephesus with his children . . iv. 266
Artemisium . . . . . iv. 108
Artybius, his horse taught to assist him in battle, iii. 249—his horse's feet cut off by the servant of Onesilus, during his combat with Artybius . iii. 250
Artystone, daughter of Cyrus, married to Darius ii. 264
— a golden statue erected in her honour, by Darius iv. 9
Aryandes condemned to death by Darius, for issuing a coin in imitation of him . . iii. 67
Asbystæ remarkable for their chariots drawn by four horses, ... iii. 74, 110
Ascalon, ancient temple of Venus there . i. 166
Asia, considered by the Persians as their own peculiar possession, i. 32—the entire possession of it gained by the

Scythians, 165—recovered from the Scythians by the Medes . . . . . i. 169
— its figure and size, ii. 390—a considerable part discovered by Darius, 398—resembles Libya, 399—whence called Asia, 400—divided into Asia Major and Minor, ii. 400, n.
— barbarians of, practise the same ceremonies with the Lacedæmonians on the death of their kings . iii. 321
Asopus, his sons and daughters . iii. 211, n.; iv. 360, n.
Asopus, the river, the Grecian army encamped on the banks of, previous to the battle of Platæa . iv. 340
Assemblies, popular, remarks on . . ii. 253, n.
Asses, impatient of cold, ii. 379, n.—none in England in Holingshed's time, 379, n.—the English breed comparatively less beautiful . . ii. 379, n.
— not produced in Scythia, iii. 28—by their braying, greatly distress the horses of the Scythians, 29—in Africa with horns, 98—in Africa, some which never drink iii. 101
— chariots of war drawn by wild asses . iv. 17
Assyria, historians of, i. 259, n.—has little rain, 260—how fertilized, 260—most fruitful in corn . i. 261
Assyrians vanquished by Cyaxares, i. 164—part of them subdued by the Medes, 169—Cyrus marches against them . . . . . i. 242
— their army put to flight by means of mice . ii. 72
— by the Greeks are called Syrians . . iv. 6
Astyages, son of Cyaxares, detained in captivity by Cyrus, i. 118—succeeds to the throne of his father, 171—marries his daughter Mandane to Cambyses, 171—commands Cyrus, as soon as born, to be put to death, 172; but his intention is defeated by Mitridates, 176—discovers Cyrus, 179—sends Cyrus to his parents in Persia, 185—Cyrus prevails on the Persians to revolt against him, and his army is defeated, 190—crucifies the Magi, 191—is taken prisoner by the Persians, and the greater part of his army destroyed, 191—his reply to the insult of Harpagus, 192—said by Isocrates to have been put to death by Cyrus . . . i. 193, n.
Asychis, king of Ægypt, succeeds Mycerinus, ii. 64—his ordinance for borrowing money, 64—builds a pyramid of brick, 64—is succeeded by Anysis . ii. 65
Athamas, son of Æolus, the eldest of his descendants, forbidden by the Achaians to enter their prytaneum iv. 128
Athenades slays Ephialtes . . . iv. 142
Athenians, anciently took only two repasts in the day, ... i. 102, n.
— recover their liberty, iii. 177; and become greater than ever, 192—are divided in factions, 193—send ambas-

sadors to form an alliance with the Persians, who agree to send Darius earth and water, 204—march with their army against the Peloponnesians at Eleusis, who all retire, 206—obtain a complete victory over the Bœotians at the Euripus, and over the Chalcidians in Eubœa, 208—continue to increase in number and importance; happy effect of their liberty, 209—sustain considerable injury from the Thebans assisted by the Æginetæ, 213—occasion of their enmity with the Æginetæ, 213—warned by the oracle to refrain from all hostilities with the Æginetæ for thirty years, 220—preparing to revenge themselves on the Æginetæ, are impeded by the Lacedæmonians, 221—after various encounters with the Mitylenians, by the award of Periander, retain Sigeum, 236—refusing to recal Hippias, are considered as the enemies of Persia, 237—their number 30,000, 238—by the persuasion of Aristagoras, assist the Ionians with 20 vessels of war against the Persians, 238; but the expedition not proving successful, withdraw themselves entirely from the Ionians, 243—their uneasiness on the destruction of Miletus, 279—greatly offended by the compliance of the Æginetæ with the demands of Darius, accuse them at Sparta of betraying the liberties of Greece, 310—refuse to deliver hostages to Leutychides, 354—a quinquereme at Sunium, full of the most illustrious Athenians, taken by the Æginetæ, 358—determine on the ruin of Ægina, which Nicodromus agrees to deliver into their hands, 359—conquer the Æginetæ, 361—are defeated by the Æginetæ, 362—assist the Eretrians against Darius, 368; but on their not acting with firmness, return home, 370—on the arrival of the Persian army at Marathon, advance thither, 371—dispatch Phidippides to Sparta, in consequence of whose vision they build a temple to Pan, 375—are deprived of the assistance of the Lacedæmonians, by an inveterate custom, 377—are joined by the Platæans, in return for assistance afforded them against the Thebans, 381—their Polemarch interposes in favour of an engagement with the Persians, 383—disposition of their army previous to the battle of Marathon, 385—vow to sacrifice goats to Diana, 386, n.—the first Greeks who ran to attack an enemy, 386—obtain a complete victory over the Persians at Marathon, 387—prevent the designs of the Persians, who had retired with their fleet, and endeavoured to arrive at Athens before the Athenians, 391—their loss of men in the battle of Marathon, 392—are congratulated on their victory by 2000 Lacedæmonians, 395—Clisthenes, son of Megacles, di-

vided them into tribes, and introduced a democracy, 406—expelled the Pelasgi from Attica, 411—their females, while celebrating the feast of Diana near Brauron, surprised and taken captive, and afterwards, with their children, put to death by the Lemnians, iii. 412
— throw the messengers of Darius into their pit of punishment, iv. 56—consult the oracle of Delphi on the approach of Xerxes and his army against Greece, 65—advised by Themistocles, in consequence of the oracle, to prepare for a naval engagement, 69—employ their fleet against Xerxes, originally intended against Ægina, 70—send to several of the Grecian states for assistance against Xerxes, 71—their claim to antiquity, 91, n.—on the approach of Xerxes's army, proclaimed by a herald, that every Athenian was to preserve his family and effects by the best means in his power, 203—their original names Pelasgi and Cranai, afterwards Cecropidæ, and Athenians, 204—their hospitality to strangers, 285, n.—Mardonius courts an alliance with them, 293; which they refuse, 303—stone Lycidas, a senator, and his wife and children, 311—on the arrival of Mardonius in Bœotia, remove to Salamis, 311—sends envoys to Lacedæmon for assistance against Mardonius, 312—the Spartans send 5000 men to assist them against Mardonius, 316—dispute between them and the Tegeans, previous to the battle of Platæa, 333—owed the ruin of their ancient constitution principally to their victories over the Persians, 373, n.—the freedom of 500, purchased of the Persians by the Samians, 405—besiege and take Sestos, 419—return from the battles of Platæa and Mycale to Greece . . . iv. 423

Athens, a body of 2000 Lacedæmonians arrive at, and congratulate the Athenians on their victory at Marathon, ... iii. 395
— its perfumes esteemed, iv. 88, n.—the citadel taken and burnt by Xerxes, 213—possessed a second time by Mardonius, 310—burnt by Mardonius, 320—its various fates . . . . iv. 320, n.

Athos, mount, proposed by Stesicrates to be converted into the statue of Alexander . . ii. 98, n.
Mardonius suffers a considerable loss of ships and men near, iii. 306—description of it, 307, n.—detachments of the army of Xerxes compelled to dig a passage through it, 447; this incredible . iii. 447, n.

Atlantes, have no distinction of names, iii. 92—execrate the sun, 92—said never to feed on any thing that has life, and never to dream, 93—distinct from the Atlantei, iii. 93, n.

Atlas, mount, its loftiness, iii. 92—mentioned by Homer, ... iii. 93, n.
Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, is cured of an ulcer by Democedes, ii. 322—urges Darius to an expedition against Greece . . . . ii. 324; iv. 273, n.
— Darius has four sons by her, iii. 418—is said to have come to a most miserable end . . iii. 421, n.
Attaginus, son of Phrynon, gives a magnificent entertainment to Mardonius and fifty Persians of the highest rank, at Thebes, iv. 322—his person demanded by the Greeks after the battle of Platæa, 394—flies . iv. 395
Atys, son of Cræsus, his death intimated to his father in a vision, i. 69—his aid against a wild boar requested by the Mysians, 72; in the hunting of which he is killed, ... i. 77
Atys, son of Menes, famine in Lydia in his reign . i. 154
Averroes, his imprecation . . . ii. 243, n.
Augila abounds in dates, iii. 75. 89—still retains its ancient name . . iii. 89, n.
Ausenses, their customs iii. 85, 98
Automoli, origin of . i. 336
Autonous, hero of Delphi . . iv. 201
Auxesia, a name of Proserpine . . iii. 213, n.
Aziris, a colony settled there by the Thereans, iii. 56—written Azilis by Callimachus . . iii. 71, n.
Azotus, Psammetichus spends 29 years in the siege of, ii. 100

B.

Babylon, the royal residence after the destruction of Nineveh, i. 243—described, 243—taken by Cyrus, 258—a proof of its power and greatness . . i. 259
— besieged by Darius, ii. 338—taken by a stratagem of Zopyrus . . . . ii. 345
Babylonians, their clothing, i. 265—wear their hair long, covered with a turban, 265—lavish in perfumes, 266—their walking-sticks, 266—their laws, 267—sell their young women by auction to the men, 268—their law concerning the sick, 270—their funeral rites, 270—their purifications, 271—their abominable custom at the temple of Venus, 271—three of their tribes live on fish, ... i. 273
— revolt from Darius, ii. 337—destroy most of their females, 337—three thousand of their most distinguished nobility crucified by order of Darius . . ii. 346
Bacchiadæ had formerly the government of Corinth iii. 225

Bacchus, his name and sacrifice first taught the Greeks by Melampus . . . i. 373
— and Ceres, considered by the Ægyptians as the great deities of the realms below, ii. 36—erroneous representation of, by modern artists, 60, n.—of the third rank of gods in Ægypt, 81—said to be the son of Semele, daughter of Cadmus, 81—said by the Greeks to have been carried by Jupiter in his thigh to Nysa . ii. 82
— worshipped in Thrace . . . iii. 124
— derivation of his name Iacchus, iv. 223, n.—why the fan carried before his image . . . iv. 224, n.
Bacis, oracle of . . . . iv. 185
Back or chine of sacrificed animals assigned by the Spartans to their princes in war . . iii. 316
Bactra, formerly a place of importance, now unknown, ... iii. 266, n.
Baldness, Ægyptians prevent, by shaving their heads from a very early age . . . . ii. 148
Banishment, a punishment at a very early period of the world, ii. 271, n.—its effects on the greatest and wisest of mankind . . . . ii. 271, n.
— an offender sent into, among the Romans, was interdicted the use of fire and water . . iii. 26, n.
— ostracism and petalism . . . iv. 241, n.
Barbarians, a term used by the ancients in a much milder sense than by us . . . i. 25, n.; iv. 18, n.
Barce, its founders, iii. 59—supposed to be the ancient Ptolemais, 74—besieged by the Persians, 111—and entered by stratagem, 113—a portion of land of the same name, in the Bactrian district . . . iii. 115
Barceans, hostilities commenced against them by Aryandes, iii. 68—their women abstain from the flesh of heifers and of swine, 94—such of them as had been instrumental in the death of Arcesilaus put to death . iii. 113
Bards, English, resembled the ancient rhapsodists, iii. 195, n.
Baris, the name of the mountain on which Noah's ark rested, ... i. 439, n.
Barley, a liquor fermented from, drunk by the Ægyptians, ... i. 413
— wine, Osiris the inventor of, ii. 79, n.—the straw of, used in sacrifice to the regal Diana . ii. 386
Barrows, the practice of raising over the bodies of the deceased, almost universal in the earlier ages, iii. 125, n.
Bassaria, animals in Africa . . . iii. 102
Baths, of the Scythians, ii. 434—of the Finlanders, 434, n.
— the offices of, performed by females . iii. 275, n.
Bats, the language of the Troglodytæ like the screaming of, iii. 91

Battus, son of Polymnestus, iii. 49—some account of him, 53—founds the city Platæa, 55—establishes a colony at Aziris, in Africa, 56—removes to a better situation, 57—is succeeded by his son Arcesilaus . iii. 59
Battus, the lame, son of Arcesilaus, succeeds his father in the government of the Cyreneans . . . iii. 60
Beans, why not eaten by the Pythagoreans, i. 356, n.—not eaten by the Ægyptians . . i. 356
— what implied in the Pythagorean precept to abstain from them . . . iii. 30, n.
Beard, shaving or plucking it, the greatest mark of ignominy throughout the East . . ii. 32, n.
Bears rarely seen in Ægypt . . i. 395
— said by Pliny not to be produced in Africa, iii. 98, n.—lions called bears by the Romans . iii. 98, n.
Beasts. See *Animals*.
Beavers, their skins used by the Budini to border their garments . . . iii. 10
Beauty, personal, honoured in various places . iii. 165, n.
Beer, British, superior to any other . i. 415, n.
Bees, said wholly to possess the parts beyond the Ister, iii. 128
— impatient of cold . . . iii. 128
Beetle considered as an emblem of the sun . ii. 178, n,
Behemoth of Scripture, generally supposed the Hippopotamus . . . . i. 402, n.
Bessi, interpreters of the oracle of Bacchus . iv. 41
Bias, of Priene, his memorable reply to Crœsus, i. 58—his good advice to the Ionians . . i. 232
Bias, brother of Melampus, receives a third part of the kingdom of the Argives . . iv. 345
Biblos, when scarce, supplied by the skins of goats and sheep, iii. 184—Xerxes provides cordage for his bridges over the river Strymon, made of its bark and of white flax, iii. 450
Birds, superstition of the ancients respecting their sight or flight . . . ii. 244, n.
Birth of a child, the Trausi lament over . iii. 120
Bisaltica, king of, his unnatural action to his sons . iv. 279
Bito and Cleobis, their reward for drawing their mother in a carriage to the temple of Juno . i. 63
Blood, ancient and modern nations of the East ratify alliances by drinking their own . . i. 122, n.
— of an human victim mixed with wine, accompanied the most solemn forms of execration among the ancients, ii. 146, n.—the spilling of it thought an indispensable act in confirmation of an oath, among many nations, 147, n.—of bullocks, taken fresh from the animal, considered by the ancients as a powerful poison, 154, n.—Scythians drink the blood of their enemies . ii. 418

Boar, wild, does much injury to the Mysians, i. 72—its ravages considered by the ancients as most formidable, ... i. 72, n.
— never seen in Africa, iii. 103—the chief food of the lion, ... iii. 103, n.
Boats, Armenian, used in Babylonia, described, i. 263—anciently made of skins of beasts by all the inhabitants of the sea coasts . . . . i. 264, n.
Bœotia, its eels esteemed . . iv. 88, n.
Bœotians overcome by the Athenians at the Euripus, iii. 208
— take part with the Medes against Greece, iv. 197—fight the Athenians at Platæa, with obstinate resolution, iv. 375
Boges, governor of Eion, and his descendants, honourably regarded in Persia, iv. 37—besieged by the Athenians, and reduced to extremity, slays his family, and then himself . . . . . iv. 38
Boreas, considered by the Athenians as their son-in-law, iv. 122—a shrine erected to him, 122—married Orithya, ... iv. 122
Boryes, animals in Africa . . . iii. 103
Borysthenes, the river, ii. 409—next to the Nile the most productive . . . . ii. 410
Bosphorus, ii. 378. 448—a bridge thrown over it at Chalcedon, by Darius, in his expedition against Scythia, 447—point of the bridge's erection . ii. 451
Bottiæans, their origin . . iv. 116, n.
Bow, proverbs taken from the use of . ii. 119, n.
Bowls, game of, invented by the Lydians . i. 154
Boys, passion for, learned by the Persians from the Greeks, i. 199—not permitted by the Persians to see their fathers till their fifth year . . . i. 201
Bracelets, of the orientals remarkably heavy, ii. 164, n.—formerly an ensign of royalty . ii. 164, n.
Branchidæ, temple of . . i. 82, n.
Brass the scarcest of all metals with the Æthiopians, ii. 168
—none possessed by the Scythians . ii. 429
— said by Lucretius to have been formerly preferred to gold . . . . iii. 170, n.
Brauronia, a feast of the Athenians every five years, ... iii. 412, n.
Bricks, nature of those made by the Israelites in Ægypt, ... ii. 65, n.
Bridge, ancient method of constructing, i. 123, n.—of Nitocris . . . . . i. 252
—one constructed over the Bosphorus, by command of Darius . . . . . ii. 447
— origin of the name in Greek, iii. 186, n.—one constructed over the Hellespont by Xerxes, 457—another, iii. 459

Britain, Great, its government, ii. 257, n.—supposed to be one of the islands called Cassiterides . . ii. 298, n.
Britomartis, a name of Diana . . . ii. 219, n.
Brother, the life of one preferred to those of a husband and children . . . . . ii. 304
Bruce, Mr. his discovery of the sources of the Nile may reasonably be questioned . . . i. 332, n.
— chargeable with frequent haste and inaccuracy, ii. 164, n.; . . . . . ii. 304, n.
Brundusium . . . . . iii. 2
Bryant, Mr. his remarks on the plagues of Ægypt quoted, ... i. 323, n.; 354, n. ii. 177
— his work on the Trojan war noticed . . ii. 19
Brygi of Thrace, attack and wound Mardonius, but are reduced by him . . . . iii. 306
Bubaris, son of Megabyzus, Alexander gives his sister in marriage to, iii. 139—with Antachæus, conducted the work of digging through mount Athos . iii. 448
Bubastis, temple at, ii. 66—in Greek synonymous with Artemis or Diana, 67—Diana so called by the Ægyptians, ii. 100
Bucklers, Persian . . . . iv. 370, n.
Budini, a numerous people, paint their bodies; have a town built of wood . . . . iii. 9
Buffon, anecdote of . . . iii. 435, n.
Bulis and Sperthies, present themselves before Xerxes to make atonement for the Persian ambassadors put to death at Sparta . . . . iv. 61
Bullock, its fresh blood considered by the ancients as a powerful poison . . ii. 154, n.; 279, n.
Bulls are sacrificed by the Ægyptians . i. 368
— their flesh never eaten by the Africans from Ægypt as far as lake Tritonis, iii. 94—one sacrificed by Cleomenes to the ocean, 344—the usual victims to the Dii Magni; not frequently, if ever, sacrificed to Jupiter, 345, n.—one sacrificed to the Ægyptian Typhon, gave occasion to the golden calf of the Israelites, iii. 345, n.
Burial alive, a common custom in Persia . iv. 43
— of the dead. See *Funerals.*
Burning, wives in India burn themselves on their husbands' funeral pile, iii. 122, n.—of the dead, See *Funerals.*
Busiris, temple of Diana at . . . . i. 383
Butos, shrine of Latona at, of one solid stone . ii. 98
Butter unknown to the Greeks and Romans . ii. 352, n.
Byblus of Ægypt, its uses . . . i. 435
Byssus means cotton . i. 426, n.; iv. 112, n.
— improperly rendered by the translators of the English Bible, '*fine* linen' . . . iv. 113, n.
Byzantium reduced by Otanes, iii. 144—reduced by the Ionians . . . . iii. 244

C

Cabaleis, a name of the Lycians, whence derived . iv. 145
Cabiri, mysteries of . . . . . i. 277
— their temple entered, and statues burnt, by Cambyses, ... ii. 44
— derivations of the word . . . . iv. 126
Cadmean victory . . . . . i. 166
Cadmus, son of Scythes, an instance of his rectitude iii. 271
Cadytis possessed by Necos, king of Ægypt . i. 413
— Jerusalem . . . . . ii. 104. n.; 139, n.
Cæneus, his story . . . . . iii. 226, n.
Cairo, its air unwholesome, i. 411, n.—its canal opened annually with great pomp . . i. 429, n.
Calacte . . . . . iii. 282
Calais, behaviour of one of its principal inhabitants at a siege . . . . . iv. 394, n.
Calami, in Samos, derivation of its name . iv. 402, n.
Calchas killed himself . . . . iv. 22, n.
Caldrons from Argos esteemed . . iv. 88, n.
Callias, the son of Phænippus, his hatred of tyrants, iii. 396—a whimsical story of him from Plutarch, 396, n.—his honours at the Olympic games, 398—his liberality to his daughters . . . . iii. 399
Callicrates mortally wounded by an arrow, while sitting in his rank at a sacrifice . . iv. 380
Callimachus of Aphidnæ, an Athenian polemarch, iii. 383—by his interposition the Athenians determine on an engagement with the Persians at Marathon, 384—loses his life in the battle of Marathon . iii. 388
Calves, male, without blemish, sacrificed by the Ægyptians . . . . . i. 368
Cambyses, son of Cyrus, marries Mandane, i. 171—succeeds his father, 289—undertakes an expedition against Ægypt . . . . . i. 290
— leads an army against Amasis, king of Ægypt, ii. 133—his parentage, 137—engages Psammenitus, son of Amasis, 145; and defeats him, 147—insults the dead body of Amasis, 155—determines to commence hostilities against the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Macrobian Æthiopians, 158—sends Ichthyophagi to the Æthiopians with a message to the prince, 160—suddenly marches his army against the Æthiopians, 171—sends part of his army against the Ammonians, 171—abandons his design against the Æthiopians, 172—fate of his army against the Ammonians, 173—puts to death the magistrates of Memphis, 175—mortally wounds Apis,

and punishes his priests, 178—said in consequence to have become mad, 179—puts his brother Smerdis to death, 180—marries his sister, and not long afterwards a second, whom he puts to death, 182—other instances of his phrenzy, 184—his brothers excite a revolt against him while in Ægypt, 222—his brother Smerdis is placed on the throne, 222—in leaping hastily on his horse is mortally wounded by his own sword, 226—his speech to the Persians previous to his death, 228—his death, 231—succeeded by his brother Smerdis, 232—was the Ahasuerus in Ezra, who obstructed the work of the temple . . . . ii. 234, n.

Camel hated by the horse, i. 128; this disproved i. 128, n.
— interesting description of, ii. 283, n.—certain camels consecrated to Mahomet, 284, n.—particulars concerning, ... ii. 284
— several destroyed by lions . . iv. 49

Camicus, besieged by the Cretans . . iv. 102

Canals, Babylonian . . . . i. 261, n.
— intersecting Ægypt, ii. 10—one hundred and twenty thousand Ægyptians perished in making one to the Red Sea . . . . . ii. 103

Candaules, king of Sardis, i. 37—his proposal to Gyges, 38—is murdered, and his empire seized by Gyges, 43—his fate resented by the Lydians . . i. 44

Cappadocians, their cavalry esteemed . iv. 127, n.

Caravanseras . . . . . iii. 173, n.

Cardia . . . . . iii. 298

Carians, resentment of certain of their women for the death of their parents, i. 212—originally islanders, 233; iv. 184, n.—their ingenuity . . . . i. 233
— the first who added crests to their helmets, and ornaments and handles to their shields, i. 234; ii. 95, n.—rewarded by Psammetichus, king of Ægypt, for their assistance, 96—preserved a constant communication between Ægypt and Greece . . . . ii. 97
— the first who let out troops for hire, iii. 192, n.—the greater part of them join the Ionians against the Persians, 244—are overcome by Daurises, a Persian general, on the banks of the Marsyas, 253—assisted by the Milesians, engage the Persians a second time, and are defeated, 255—in a subsequent action somewhat repair their former losses, 255—subdued by the Persians . . . . iii. 287

Carnian festival . . . . . iv. 136

Carnivorous and cruel, a common association ii. 403, n.

Carthaginians, their fleet engages with the Phocæans i. 229
— Cambyses is prevented from sending an armament against them . . . . . ii. 159

— mode of their commerce with a people beyond the columns of Hercules . . iii. 107
— frequently gave the title of king to their generals, iv. 95, n.—sacrifice to Amilcar . iv. 97
Carystians, besieged by the Persians, surrender . iii. 368
— their lands wasted by the Greeks, iv. 282—a war between them and the Athenians . iv. 409
Casia, ii. 290, n.—how procured by the Arabians ii. 293
Casius, mount, now mount Tenere . ii. 140, n.
Caspian sea communicates with no other . i. 275
Cassandane, the mother of Cambyses . ii. 137
Cassiterides, the islands . . ii. 298
Castor and Pollux, not among the Ægyptian gods i. 364
— entertained by Euphorion . . iii. 402
Castration, in a very early period, a punishment for various crimes, iii. 265, n.—practised by the Persians on the Ionian youths . . . iii. 293
Cats, venerated by the Ægyptians, i. 390, n.—their increase, how frustrated in Ægypt, 391—their death lamented by the Ægyptians, 392—buried by the Ægyptians, i. 394
Cavalry, why compared in Jeremiah to a rough caterpillar . . . . . i. 128, n.
— excellence of the Cappadocian and Paphlagonian, iv. 127, n.
Caucasus, the largest mountain in the world . i. 276
Caves, subterraneous, very frequent in the East, iv. 198, n.
Caunians, account of . . . i. 235
Causeway erected by Cheops in Ægypt . ii. 41
Cecrops, the first among the Greeks who erected a statue to Minerva . . . i. 193, n.
— under him the Athenians took the name of Cecropidæ, iv. 205—said to have been of a twofold nature, iv. 205, n.
Celtæ, except the Cynetæ, the most remote inhabitants in the west of Europe . . ii. 407
Cercopes, robbers; Homer said to have written a poem on them . . . iv. 144, n.
Ceres, in the Greek tongue the name of Isis . i. 383
— Rhampsinitus plays at dice with, ii. 34—and Bacchus esteemed by the Ægyptians as the great deities of the realms below, 36—called Isis by the Ægyptians, 100—her mysteries, 116; iii. 273; iv. 224—her temple in Scythia, ii. 411—called Damia . . ii. 212, n.
— certain Chians put to death by the Ephesians for approaching the city during the celebration of her mysteries . . . iii. 273
— Athenian rites in honour of her and Proserpine, iv. 225—her grove in the Theban territories . iv. 374
Ceres, Achæan, her edifice and mysteries at Athens iii. 186

Ceres Amphictyonis . . iv. 131
Ceres, Eleusinian . . . iv. 365
Ceres, Thesmophoros . . . . iii. 361
Cesarius, a magistrate of high rank, goes post from Antioch to Constantinople . . . iv. 260, n.
Chalcedon, its fine situation, iii. 42, n.—reduced by Otanes, ... iii. 144
Chalcidians, lay waste the Athenian territories, iii. 205—overcome by the Athenians in Eubœa . iii. 208
— join the army of Xerxes, iv. 116—become masters of Olynthus . . . iv. 287
Chaldeans, in the army of Xerxes . . iv. 6
Challenge given by Mardonius to the Spartans at Platæa, iv. 357—frequently adopted in earlier ages, iv. 358, n.
Charaxus, brother of Sappho, purchases the liberty of Rhodopis, ii. 621—satirized by Sappho . ii. 64
Chariots, one of brass placed by the Athenians at the entrance of the citadel, iii. 209—of war, 251, n.—one sacred to Jupiter drawn in the procession of Xerxes' army from Sardis, 468; lost by him in Macedonia, iv. 279—that of Xerxes drawn by Nisæan horses, iii. 468
Charles I. his last word to Dr. Juxon . iii. 363, n.
Charts, geographical, their antiquity . iii. 167, n.
Cheese, according to Pliny, neglected by the barbarous nations . . . . . ii. 352, n.
— of Sicily esteemed . . iv. 88, n.
Chemmis, in Ægypt, i. 430—the same with Panopolis and Akmim . . . i. 430, n.
— the Ægyptians affirm the island of Chemmis to be a floating island . . . ii. 99
Chenalopex, a bird venerated by the Ægyptians i. 403
Cheops, king of Ægypt, succeeds Rhampsinitus, ii. 39—his profligacy, 39—makes the Ægyptians labour servilely for himself, 40—works carried on in Ægypt during his reign, 41—prostituted his daughter, 49—a pyramid built with stones procured by his daughter's prostitution, 49—succeeded by his brother Chephren ii. 50
Chephren, king of Ægypt, succeeds his brother Cheops, ii, 50—builds a pyramid, 51—is succeeded by Mycerinus, son of Cheops . . . . ii. 53
Chersonese, except Cardia, reduced by the Phœnicians, iii. 294—origin of its subjection to Miltiades, son of Cypselus, 294—its length, 298—becomes subject to Stesagoras, 299; and to Miltiades, son of Cimon, iii. 302
Chians assist the Milesians in their war with the Lydians, i. 49
— their honourable conduct in a sea-fight near Miletus, iii. 272—several put to death by the Ephesians, for

approaching the city when the women were celebrating the rites of Ceres, 274—subdued by Histiæus iii. 288
Children, two brought up by a shepherd without speaking before them, to know what word they would first pronounce . . . . . i. 290
— two sacrificed by Menelaus, to appease the winds, ii. 26
— fourteen Persian, of illustrious birth, interred alive by order of Amestris, wife of Xerxes, in honour of the deity under the earth, iv. 43—sacrificed to Saturn, iv. 96, n.
Chileus prevails on the Spartans to assist the Athenians against Mardonius . . . iv. 315
Chine always considered by the ancients as the honourable portion . . . . . iii. 316, n.
Chinese, their arrangement respecting trading vessels at Canton, similar to that of the ancient Ægyptians at Naucratis . . . . . ii. 126, n.
Chios famous for purple . . . . iv. 267, n.
Chirurgery among the ancients . . i. 422, n.
Chivalry possibly of Grecian origin . iii. 400, n.
Choaspes, the kings of Persia drank no water but this, i. 255—Milton's assertion doubted, that its water was the drink of none but kings, 254—Xerxes during his march drank of it when quite putrid . i. 255, n.
Chorus, tragic, some account of . . iii. 197, n.
Chronology of the Ægyptians greatly embarrassed, ii. 35, n.
Chymistry carried to a high degree of perfection by the Ægyptians . . . . . i. 424, n.
Cilicians said to pay annually a tribute of five hundred talents . . . . . iii. 169
— supply Xerxes with one hundred ships, iv. 21—derive their name from Cilex . . . iv. 22
Cimmerian darkness . . i. 35, n.; ii. 349, n.
Cimmerians, their incursion into Ionia, i. 35—supposed to be the descendants of the Gomer in Scripture, 35, n.—possess Sardis, 47—driven out of Asia . i. 48
— when expelled their country by the Scythians, fled to the Asiatic Chersonese . . . ii. 363
Cimon, son of Stesagoras, driven from Athens by the influence of Pisistratus, iii. 371—his victories in the Olympic games, 372—assassinated . . iii. 373
Cinnamon, ii. 289, n.—of the ancients different from ours, 290. n.—how collected by the Arabians . ii. 293
Cinyps, the river, its rise, iii. 80—district of, equal to any country in the world for its corn, 109—a colony founded near it by Dorieus, son of Cleomenes . iii 159
Circumcision practised in Ægypt, i. 351—its use among the Æthiopians and Jews, and in Otaheite . i. 351, n.

— used from time immemorial by the Colchians, Ægyptians, and Æthiopians . . . . . ii. 4
— borrowed from Ægypt by the Phœnicians and Syrians of Palestine . . . . . i. 335
— an argument for supposing this to be a mistake of Herodotus, ii. 5, n.—borrowed by other Syrians, and the Macrones, from the Colchians, 5—not known whether Ægypt or Æthiopia first introduced it . . . ii. 6
Citharœdus, distinction between that term and Citharistes, ... i. 52, n.
Clasps, a man killed by wounds from them, by the hands of Athenian women, iii. 218—general form of those worn by the ancients . . . . . iii. 218, n.
Clazomenæ invaded by Alyattes . . . i. 48
— taken by Artaphernes and Otanes . . iii. 256
Cleades, the son of Autodicus, raises the monument of the Æginetæ at Platæa . . . . . iv. 393
Cleander, son of Pantareus, assassinated by Sabyllus iv. 83
Cleobis and Bito, rewarded for drawing their mother in a carriage to the temple of Juno . . . i. 63
Cleombrotus, son of Cleomenes, his birth . . ii. 158
Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, and king of Sparta, instance of his self-denial . . . . ii. 336
— his birth, iii. 158—reported to have been insane, 158—is preferred to the sovereignty, 159—his reign short, 166—rejects the solicitations of Aristagoras to make an incursion into Asia, 171. 173—restores the Athenians to their liberty, 191—his stratagem on that occasion, 191, n.—at the instance of Isagoras, pronounces sentence of expulsion against Clisthenes and other Athenians, 200—sends into exile seven hundred Athenian families; proceeds to dissolve the senate, but is opposed; and, after seizing the citadel, is besieged by the Athenians, and compelled to accept terms and depart, 203—levies forces against the Athenians in different parts of the Peloponnese, and takes possession of Eleusis, 205—is repulsed from Ægina, 310—persecuted by Demaratus during his absence at Ægina, 323.—together with Leutychides asserts the illegitimacy of Demaratus, and procures from the oracle of Delphi a declaration of it, 329; in consequence of which Demaratus is deprived of his dignity, 331—proceeds with Leutychides against Ægina, 339—fearing the resentment of the Spartans, flies to Thessaly, thence to Arcadia, where he endeavours to raise a commotion against Sparta, 339—is invited back to Sparta, 341—is seized with madness, 341—in confinement procures a sword, with which he cuts off his flesh till he dies, 342—his death ascribed

to various crimes committed by him, 342—set fire to the sacred wood of Argos, 344—punished the priest who interrupted him in offering sacrifice at the temple of Juno, 348—offered sacrifice at the temple of Juno, 348—was accused by the Spartans of bribery, and of neglecting to take Argos, but acquitted . . . iii. 349

Clinias, son of Alcibiades, distinguishes himself in a sea-fight between the Persians and Greeks . iv. 183

Clisthenes of Athens, contending with Isagoras for superiority, divides the Athenian state into factions, iii. 193—divides the four Athenian tribes into ten, 193. 198—sentence of explusion pronounced against him and other Athenians, 200—the first who was punished by the law of ostracism, which he had introduced, 202, n.—is recalled from banishment . . iii. 204

Clisthenes, prince of Sicyon, abolishes at Sicyon the poetical contests of the rhapsodists, iii. 194—brings back to Sicyon the relics of Melanippus, and assigns to him the sacrifices and festivals which before had been appropriated to Adrastus, 196—at the Olympic games, offers his daughter in marriage to the most worthy, 399—gives her to Megacles, and a talent of silver to each of the other candidates . . iii. 406

Cloak, Syloson of Samos receives the island of Samos in return for a cloak he had given to Darius, ii. 329. 330. 336.

Clysters, how invented . . . . i. 408, n.

Cnidians, their attempt to reduce their country into the form of an island . . . i. 239

Cobon, son of Aristophantes, prevails on the priestess of Apollo to say what Cleomenes desired against Demaratus, iii. 330

Cocalus suffocates Minos in a hot bath . iv. 101, n.

Cochineal, by its discovery we far surpass the colours of antiquity . . . . i. 277, n.

Codrus of Athens, story of . . iii. 207, n.

Coës, son of Erxander, his advice to Darius . ii. 458

— made prince of Mitylene for his advice to Darius, iii. 129—taken captive by Iatragoras, 155—stoned by the Mitylenians . . . iii. 156

Coffins of crystal used by the Æthiopians, ii. 168—anciently used in the east, 168, n.—why not now used there, 169, n.—when introduced into England, 169, n.—of glass . . . ii. 169, n.

Coin, gold, of the ancients, one fiftieth part is supposed to have been alloy . . . ii. 273, n.

Coins, spurious, fabricated in very early times, ii. 214, n.—Samian, mistaken for those of Salamis . ii. 215, n.

Colas, his skill in diving . . iv. 175, n.

Colchians, of Ægyptian origin, ii. 4—used circumcision, 4—their similarity to the Ægyptians in many respects, ii. 6
Colchis, famous for slaves . . . . i. 164, n.
Colchos, the king of, demands the restitution of Medea, i. 29
Cold, excessive, in Scythia . . . . ii. 378
Colony, ceremonies previous to founding one . iii. 159, n.
Colophon taken by Gyges, i. 47—builds Smyrna . i. 48
Colophonians, excluded from the Apaturian festival, i. 213—certain of them, driven from their country, take possession of Smyrna . . . . . i. 215
Columns erected by Sesostris, to commemorate his victories, ... ii. 2
— erected for various uses in the earlier ages of antiquity, ... iii. 272, n.
Combat, naval, exhibited before Xerxes, iii. 471—those of the Romans constituted one of their grandest shows, ... iii. 471, n.
Commerce, mode of, between the Carthaginians and a people beyond the columns of Hercules . iii. 107
Compass, points of the . . . iv. 120, n.
Constantinople, ill treatment there of ambassadors in case of war, an exception to the general rule of nations . . . . . ii. 224, n.
— its situation well expressed by Ovid, iii. 37, n.—most satisfactory account of it in Mr. Gibbon's History, iii. 37, n.
Convulsions cured in the children of the African shepherds, by goat's urine . . . . iii. 95.
Cookery in remote times performed by a queen for her husband . . . . . iv. 204
Cooks from Elis esteemed . . . iv. 88, n.
Corcyra built by the Corinthians . . . ii. 205
Corcyreans, three hundred children of their principal families sent by Periander to Sardis, to be made eunuchs, protected and sent back by the Samians, ii. 203—put the son of Periander to death . . ii. 211
— delude the Greeks in their war with Xerxes . iv. 97
Corinth, treasury of . . . . i. 46
— famous for tapestry . . . iv. 88, n.
Corinthians contribute to an expedition of the Lacedæmonians against Samos . . . . ii. 203
— their government under the Bacchiadæ, iii. 225—oppose the restoration of Hippias to Athens, 233—furnish the Athenians with twenty ships against Ægina, 360—interfere between the Thebans and Plataeans . iii. 382
— said to have fled at the commencement of the battle of Salamis . . . . . iv. 256
Corn, Babylonia fruitful in . . . i. 261
Cornucopia, whence . . . . i. 305, n.

Corobius, of Itanus, goes with certain of the Thereans to the island Platæa in Africa, to found a colony there, iii. 50
Coronæa, moles never seen in . . iii. 211, n.
Correspondence, method of, between Timoxenus and Artabazus, at the siege of Potidæa . iv. 287—See *Epistles.*
Corycian cave . . . . iv. 198
Cotton, the byssus of the ancients . i. 426, n.; ii. 289, n. . . . . iv. 112, n.
Countries, luxurious, render men effeminate . iv. 424
Courtesans, great profits of those of antiquity, ii. 49, n.— of Naucratis generally beautiful . ii. 63
Cowardice, the people of Cyzicus remarkable for, ii. 366, n.
Cows, why venerated by the Ægyptians above all other cattle . . . . i. 360
— their urine applied in some dangerous obstructions, ... iii. 95, n.
Crassus, story of his death corresponds with that of Cyrus's, ... i. 284, n.
— his wealth . . . iii. 453, n.
Crates, his famous verses, describing part of the accounts of a man of fortune . . ii. 320, n.
Cream, neither Greeks nor Latins had a term to express it, ... ii. 352, n.
Cretans, carried away Europa . . i. 29
— refuse to assist the Greeks against Xerxes, iv. 98—their good government, 100, n.—consequences of their siege of Camicus, 102—their defeat of the Tarentines, 103—punished for their assisting Menelaus in the Trojan war . . . . iv. 104
Crius, son of Polycritus, opposes Cleomenes, iii. 310—delivered to Cleomenes as a hostage . iii. 339
Crocodile described, i. 396, and n.—supposed to be the dragon of the Old Testament, 397, n.—supposed to be the Leviathan of Job, 398, n.—esteemed sacred by some of the Ægyptians, by others treated as an enemy, 399—singular story of one, 399, n.—an article of food in or near Elephantine, 400—had many names, 400, n.—various methods of taking it . i. 400, n.
— city of crocodiles, ii. 84, n.—sacred, said to be preserved in the subterraneous apartments of the labyrinth near Mœris . . . . ii. 86, n.
— land-crocodiles in Africa . . . iii. 103
Crœsus, son of Alyattes, by descent a Lydian, i. 33—the first Barbarian prince who exacted tribute from Greece, 34—his family, 36—his riches, whence, 46, n.—succeeds to the throne of Lydia, 56—enters into an alliance with the Ionians of the islands, 59—his conquests, 59—entertains Solon, 60—dismisses him with indifference, 68

—his two sons, 68—sees a vision menacing the death of his son Atys, 69—consents to his son Atys' assisting the Mysians against a wild boar, 75—his behaviour on the loss of Atys, 77—consults the oracles of Greece and Libya, 80—sacrifices to the oracle at Delphi, 84—sends presents to Delphi, 86—his gratitude to his bread-maker, 88, n.—his presents to Amphiaraus, 88—consults the oracles at Delphi and of Amphiaraus concerning an expedition against the Persians, 89—his repeated liberality to Delphi, and his privileges there in consequence, 89—consults the Delphian oracle a third time, 90—receives information of the oppression of Athens by Pisistratus, 93; and of the Lacedæmonians, 105—forms an offensive alliance with the Spartans, 114—arrives in Pteria, a part of Cappadocia, 123—almost exterminates the Syrians, 123—engages with Cyrus on the plains of Pteria, 124—returns to Sardis, 124—is taken captive by Cyrus, 132—his dumb son recovers his speech on seeing his father's life in danger, 135—condemned by Cyrus to be burnt, 135; but a storm of rain extinguishes the flames, and he is released by order of Cyrus, who treats him with respect, 139—sends the Lydians to reproach the oracle at Delphi, and receives an answer, 143—other sacred offerings of, 146—goes with Cyrus into Asia, 218—his advice to Cyrus on a revolt of the Lydians, 219—his advice to Cyrus in attacking the Massagetæ, 279; which proves fatal to Cyrus, i. 285
— his complimentary speech to Cambyses, ii. 185—his advice to Cambyses, 186—by order of Cambyses, is to be put to death, but is preserved . . . ii. 188
— by his menaces to the people of Lampsacum, procures the liberty of Miltiades, iii. 298—permits Alcmæon to take with him from Sardis as much gold as he can carry . . . . . iii. 398
Crotona, eminence of its physicians . . ii. 321
— its people, assisted by Dorieus, take Sybaris . iii. 162
Crotoniatæ assist Greece with one vessel, iv. 208—of Achæan origin . . . . . iv. 209
Crow sacred to Apollo . . . . ii. 368, n.
Crucifixion, by the Persians generally preceded by beheading or flaying . . . . . ii. 313, n.
— the particular manner of the punishment unknown, ... iii. 292, n.
Crystal abounds in Ægypt . . . . ii. 170
Cubit, its length . . . . . i. 244, n.
— its different size at different periods . ii. 112, n.
Custom styled by Pindar the universal sovereign, ii. 191—distinction between it and habit . ii. 191, n.

Customs, all men tenacious of their own, ii. 190—barbarous in barbarous nations, and similar in nations which have no communication . . . ii. 432, n.
Cyanean islands, said by the Greeks to have floated, ii. 447
Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, at war with Alyattes, i. 47—with his guests, partakes of human flesh served up by a number of fugitive Scythians, in revenge for his asperity, 119; which occasions a war between the Lydians and Medes, 120—succeeds Phraortes in the government of the Medes, 164—the first who trained the Asiatics to military service, 164—his engagement with the Lydians interrupted by an eclipse, 164—vanquishes the Assyrians, 164—besieges Nineveh, 164—is defeated by the Scythians, and loses his empire, 165; but recovers it, 169—his death . . i. 171
Cybele, her rites instituted in Scythia by Anacharsis, ii. 437—the truest idea of her rites, whence to be obtained, ... ii. 437, n.
— her temple at Sardis destroyed . . iii. 242
Cyclades, each of them distinguished for some excellence, ... ii. 216, n.
Cydias, his perfidy and premature death . iii. 357, n.
Cydon, in Crete, by whom built . . ii. 199
Cydraca, a pillar built at, by Crœsus, to define the boundaries of Phrygia and Lydia . . iii. 455
Cylon, of Athens, with a number of young men of the same age, put to death for a design on government, iii. 200
Cyma taken by Artaphernes and Otanes . iii. 256
Cynægirus, son of Euphorion, dies of his wounds in the battle of Marathon . . . . iii. 388
Cynetæ the most remote inhabitants in the west of Europe, ... ii. 407
Cynics, whence so called . . iii. 190. n.
Cyno, wife of Mitridates, preserves the life of Cyrus, i. 177
Cynocephali have their eyes in their breasts . iii. 98
Cynosarges gave name to the sect of the Cynics, iii. 190, n.
—origin of its appellation . . iii. 190, n.
Cyprian verses, not Homer's . . . ii. 24
Cyprians, their custom respecting women . i. 273
— first conquered by Amasis, king of Ægypt, ii. 131—submit to the Persians, and serve in the Ægyptian expedition . . . . . ii. 160
— occasion of their revolt from the Medes, iii. 244—a decisive victory over them by the Persians off Cyprus, ... iii. 251
— supply fifty vessels to Xerxes . . iv. 21
Cypselus, son of Eetion, his story . . iii. 229
Cyranis, the island, gold-dust drawn from its lake . iii. 105

Cyrene, presents sent to, by Amasis, ii. 128—eminence of its physicians . . . . . ii. 321
— whence its name, iii. 57, n.—Greeks settle there, 58—few traces of it remaining, 74, n.—its limits not defined, ... iii. 110, n.
Cyrenians repel Apries, ii. 106 — make an alliance with Amasis, 127—submit to Cambyses . ii. 149
— their friendship with the Samians, iii. 52—the Greeks settle among them, 58—defeat the Ægyptians, and revolt from Apries, 59—defeated by Arcesilaus, 59—consult the oracle on their calamities, 60—their form of government settled by Demonax, 60—their women esteem it impious to touch an heifer, 94—for eight months in the year, employed in reaping the produce of their lands . . . . . iii. 111
Cyrsilus and his wife stoned to death by the Athenians, ... iv. 310, n.
Cyrus, son of Cambyses, as soon as born, is delivered to Harpagus, by command of Astyages, to be destroyed, i. 172—is delivered by Harpagus to Mitridates, to be exposed, 173—is preserved by Mitridates, 176—discovered at ten years of age, 177—is sent by Astyages to his parents in Persia, 184—is invited by Harpagus to seize on the dominions of Astyages, 186—by a stratagem prevails on the Persians to revolt from the Medes, 187—is said by Isocrates to have put Astyages to death, 193, n.—his increasing greatness excites the jealousy of Crœsus, 80—said to consult the prophet Daniel on his war with Crœsus, 124, n.—engages with Crœsus on the plains of Pteria, 124—follows Crœsus to Sardis, 127—his stratagem at Sardis, 127—takes Sardis and Crœsus captive, 132—condemns Crœsus to be burnt, 135; but relents, 138; and on the flames being extinguished by a storm of rain, orders him to be released, 140—rejects an offer of allegiance from the Ionians and Æolians, 206—his reflection upon the Greeks, 218—commits the care of Sardis to Tabalus, and proceeds with Crœsus to Ecbatane, 218—consults with Crœsus on a revolt of the Lydians under Pactyas, 219—sends Mazares to the Lydians, and prescribes to them certain observances, by which he effects a total change in their manners, 221—on the death of Mazares, appoints Harpagus to the command of his army in Ionia, 225—becomes master of the upper parts of Asia, 242—wastes a summer in revenge on the river Gyndes, 257—his reduction of Gyndes ascribed to other motives, 256, n.—besieges Babylon, and takes it, 257—proceeds to conquer the Massagetæ, 273—by advice of Crœsus, accepts the proposal of

Tomyris, queen of the Massagetæ, and marches into her country, 280—appoints his son Cambyses his successor, 281—is alarmed by a vision, 281—defeats a part of the army of the Massagetæ by a stratagem, 283; but is himself defeated by the remainder of their forces, and slain, 285—different accounts of his death, 285, n.—on his wife's death, commanded public marks of sorrow, ... i. 289

— dissuaded the Persians from removing to a better country, ... iv. 424

Cythnians . . . . . iv. 207

Cytissorus, son of Phrixus, the anger of Jupiter Laphystius falls on his posterity . . . iv. 129

Cyzicus, its people remarkable for their cowardice, ii. 366, n. —Anacharsis touches at, in his passage over the Hellespont . . . . . ii. 436

D.

Dacians, the Getæ so called . ii. 455, n.

Dædalus, account of . . . iv. 101, n.

Damia, a name of Ceres . . . iii. 213, n.

Danaus . . . . . i. 440

— the Thesmophoria, in honour of Ceres, introduced among the Pelasgi by his daughters, ii. 116—his daughters erected the temple of Minerva at Lindus . ii. 131

Dances of the Mantinæans preferred for the quickness with which they moved their hands . iii. 283; n.

Dancing, the Athenians deemed those impolite who refused to exercise themselves in, when proper opportunities occurred, iii. 405, n.—a part of the funeral ceremonies of the ancients . . . iii. 405, n.

Danube, account of, ii. 405—the river of Noah, 405, n.—inferior to the Nile . . . ii. 407

Daphne, Pelusian . . . . i. 336

Darics, coin so called . . . iii. 65, n.

Darius, son of Hystaspes, endeavours to get possession of a golden statue in the temple of Jupiter at Babylon, i. 248—opens the tomb of Nitocris, 253—a vision of Cyrus, intimating the succession of Darius to his power . . . . . i. 281

— not permitted to place his own statue before those of Sesostris and his family, ii. 15—joins in a conspiracy against Smerdis, the pretended son of Cyrus, 237—is made king of Persia, 261—his wives, 264—divides Persia into provinces, 264—annual tribute paid to him, 273—his mode of depositing his riches, 274—puts Intaphernes and part of his family to death, 306—dislocates his

ancle, 317—is cured by Democedes, a slave of Orœtes, and rewards him, 318—sends Democedes with fifteen Persians to examine the sea-coast of Greece, 324; who return without their conductor, 326—besieges and takes Samos, 328—having formerly received a cloak from Syloson, 329; in return gives him Samos, 330; which he receives almost without an inhabitant, 336—besieges Babylon, 338; and, by a statagem of Zopyrus, takes it, 345—levels the walls of Babylon, and takes away its gates, 345—rewards Zopyrus, 346—undertakes an expedition against Scythia, 349—sends Scylax to ascertain where the Indus meets the ocean, 398; who discovers a considerable part of Asia, 398—advances from Susa with his army, against Scythia, 446—puts to death the three sons of Œbazus, 446—surveys the Euxine, 447—examines the Bosphorus, near which he orders two columns to be erected, inscribed with the names of the different nations which followed him against Scythia, 450—rewards Mandrocles for erecting a bridge over the Bosphorus, 452—passes into Europe, 452—erects a column near the river Tearus, 453—raises a pile of stones near the river Artiscus, 454—reduces the Thracians of Salmydessus, and several others, with the Getæ, 454—passes the Ister, 458—by the advice of Coës, leaves the Ionians to guard the bridge erected by them over the Ister . . . ii. 460

— proceeds with his army, iii. 21; and arrives in Scythia, 24—challenges the Scythians, 25—the Scythians make several attacks on his army, 28—receives a present from the Scythians, 29; the meaning of which is explained by Gobryas, 31—his stratagem for effecting a safe return from the pursuit of the Scythians, 34—arrives at the Ister, and finds the bridge broken down, 39—with the assistance of Histiæus, passes the Ister, and escapes from the Scythians, 40—passes into Asia, 41—leaves Megabyzus at the head of some troops in Europe, 41; who reduces all who were in opposition to the Medes, 42—issues a coin of the purest gold, 66—condemns Aryandes to death for issuing a coin of silver, 67—the Perinthians, and all Thrace, reduced under his power by Megabyzus, 119—having crossed the Hellespont, goes to Sardis, 128—rewards Histiæus and Coës, 128—requires Megabyzus to remove the Pæonians from Europe to Asia, 129; who accordingly invades them, and executes his orders, 132—by advice of Megabyzus, diverts Histiæus from building a city in Thrace, and takes him with him to Susa, leaving his brother Artaphernes governor of Sardis, and Otanes commander of

the sea-coast, 143—sends forces against Naxos, 149; who lay siege to it, but after four months return without success, 151—Miletus revolts against him, 155—Athenian ambassadors agreed to send him earth and water, for which, on their return to Athens, they are severely reprehended, 205—his conduct on being informed of the burning of Sardis by the Athenians and Ionians, 245—deluded by Histiæus, sends him into Ionia against Aristagoras, 247—Histiæus takes the command of the Ionian forces against him, 260—treats the Milesians with great humanity, 277—receives Scythes, the Zanclean prince, 286—humanity, one of the most conspicuous qualities, 291, n.—disapproves of the crucifixion of Histiæus the Milesian, 292—his kindness to Metiochus, son of Miltiades, 393—sends Mardonius, husband of his daughter Artozostra, to Ionia, to supersede his other commanders, 304—orders the Thasians to pull down their walls, and remove their ships to Abdera, 308—sends emissaries to different parts of Greece to demand earth and water, and orders the cities on the coast, who paid him tribute, to construct vessels of war and transports for cavalry, 309—honourably receives Demaratus expelled from Sparta, 336—his domestic regularly bids him remember the Athenians, 362—appoints two of his officers to commence an expedition against Eretria and Athen, 363—signification of his name, 367—treated his captives with lenity, 371, n.—shews no further resentment to the captive Eretrians brought to Susa by Datis and Artaphernes, but appoints them a residence, 393—after the battle of Marathon, is more inclined to invade Greece; and on the revolt of the Ægyptians, who had been reduced by Cambyses, prepares against both nations, 417—a violent dispute amongst his sons concerning the succession to the throne, 418—declares Xerxes his successor, and dies, 421—genealogy of his family . . . . . iii. 437, n.

— married Artaynta the daughter of Masistes, iv. 412—not the same with Ahasuerus . iv. 413, n.

Datis, together with Artaphernes, commanded by Darius to subdue Eretria and Athens, iii. 363—goes to Delos and restores a golden image of Apollo, 393—with Artaphernes carries the captive Eretrians to Susa . iii. 393

Datism, a Greek barbarism . . iii. 363, n.

Daurises, with other Persian generals, attacks the Ionians concerned in the expedition against Sardis, iii. 252—turns his arms against the cities of the Hellespont, 253—slain by the Carians in an ambuscade . iii. 255

Day, its division into twelve parts, received by the Greeks from the Babylonians . . ii. 13
— journey of a, iii. 4—ænigma on the day and night, ... iii. 276, n.
Dead, their bodies eaten by the Massagetæ, i. 287—time of mourning for, in Ægypt . . i. 427, n.
— their bodies in Ægypt arrested for debt, by a law of Asychis, ii. 64—their bodies why embalmed by the Ægyptians, 157—commemorated by the Greeks on the anniversaries of their deaths . ii. 376, n.
— honours paid by the Spartans to their deceased princes, ... iii. 320
— to bring off their bodies in battle, considered by the ancients as a high point of honour, iv. 350, n.—sentiments of the ancients with respect to their bodies remaining unburied, 335, n.—to inflict vengeance on, deemed infamous by Pausanias . . . iv. 386
— See *Funerals. Mourning.*
Death never inflicted by the Persians for a single offence, i. 201—of aged persons accelerated, 287, n.—never made a punishment during the reign of Sabacus in Ægypt, ... i. 383; ii. 66
— voluntary, of one or more persons, supposed by the ancients to secure a nation, or preserve the life of an individual . . . iv. 58, n.
Debt, to be in, disgraceful among the Persians . i. 202
Debts secured by pledging the body of a father in the reign of Asychis, king of Ægypt . . . ii. 64
— remitted on the death of a Lacedæmonian and a Persian king . . . . . iii. 323
Deceleans, why exempted from taxes in Sparta . iv. 381
Dedication of Ephesus to Minerva, by connecting with a rope the walls to her temple . . i. 57
Deioces reputed for his wisdom, i. 156—chosen king of the Medes; 158—the first who forbade access to the royal person, 160—his mode of administering justice, 162—succeeded by his son Phraortes . . i. 163
Delos purified by Pisistratus . . i. 104
— certain sacred offerings of the Hyperboreans received there, ii. 384—rites celebrated by the Delians in honour of Hyperborean virgins . . . ii. 386
— its inhabitants fly to Tenos on the approach of Datis with the Persian fleet, iii. 365—the island affected by a tremulous motion on the departure of Datis, 366—a golden image of Apollo restored by Datis to the temple, ... iii. 393
Delphi, Midas and Gyges sends presents to, i. 45—the name among the subjects of controversy between Boyle and

Bentley, 45, n.—always written Delphos, by Swift, 45, n.—Alyattes' offering at, 56—oracle of Apollo at, 80, n.—answer of the oracle to Crœsus, who offers a magnificent sacrifice to it, 84; and sends thither valuable presents, 86—consulted by Crœsus a second and third time, 89—the oracle reproached by Crœsus, ... i. 143

— the temple consumed by fire . . ii. 126

— the temple constructed by the Alcmæonidæ, iii. 187—the oracle bribed by Lycurgus . iii. 330, n.

— large statues there, iv. 192—a statue erected there by the Greeks after the battle of Salamis, 283—offering of the Æginetæ on the same occasion . iv. 283

Delphians assign to Crœsus and the Lydians the privilege of first consulting the oracle . . i. 90

— why they supplicate the winds, iv. 111—on the approach of Xerxes's army, are instructed by the oracle not to remove their treasures, but remove their wives and children into Achaia; and themselves, except sixty men, entirely desert the city . . iv. 197

Deluge, the, various opinions of its universality, i. 308, n.—the ceremony in the ancient mysteries of carrying about a kind of ship or boat, related to it . i. 439, n.

Demaratus, son of Ariston, and a prince of Sparta, circulates a report at Sparta to the prejudice of Cleomenes, iii. 310; who, on his return from Ægina, endeavours to degrade his rival, 323—his birth, 325—the circumstance to which he owed his name, 327—succeeds his father, 328—his illegitimacy asserted by Cleomenes and Leotychides, and by collusion pronounced by the oracle of Delphi, 329—loses his dignity, 331—insulted by Leotychides, who had been elected king in his room, 332—conjures his mother to discover his true father, 332—who informs him he is either the son of the hero Astrobacus, or of Ariston, 335—is pursued and seized by the Lacedæmonians; but by the interference of the Zacynthians is suffered to pass over to Asia, where he is honourably received by Darius, 336—alone of all the kings of Sparta obtained the prize in the Olympic games, in the chariot-race of four horses, 337—deprived of the crown of Sparta, flies from Lacedæmon, and arrives at Susa . . . iii. 421

—his conversation with Xerxes, on the probability of his success in the Grecian war, iv. 30—his advice to Xerxes on the conduct of the Grecian war, after the battle at Thermopylæ, 164—his extraordinary mode of informing the Lacedæmonians with the intentions of Xerxes against Greece . . . iv. 168

Democedes, the son of Calliphon, the most skilful physician of his time, ii. 312—restores to Darius the use of his foot, and is rewarded by him, 318—account of, 319—cures Atossa, wife of Darius, of an ulcer, 322—procures himself to be sent by Darius, with fifteen Persians, to examine the sea-coast of Greece, 324—arriving at Crotona, the people refuse to deliver him up to the Persians, who return back to Darius deprived of their conductor . . . . . ii. 326
Democracy, arguments in favour of . . ii. 250
Demonax divides the Cyreneans into tribes . iii. 59
Desart, a vast sandy one in Africa . . iii. 87
Dials of the ancients . . . ii. 13, n.
Diana, the Ephesians dedicate their city to, i. 56—her oracle in Ægypt . . . . . i. 421
— by the Ægyptians called Bubastis, ii. 100—the daughter of Ceres, according to Æschylus, 100—three hundred Corcyrean children protected in her temple at Samos, 203—called Dictynna and Britomartis . ii. 219, n.
— worshipped in Thrace, iii. 124—her feast near Brauron, ... iii. 412
Diana, Orthosian, young men of Lacedæmon permitted themselves to be flagellated at her altar . ii. 451, n.
Diana, Regal, barley-straw used in sacrifice to . ii. 386
Dicæus, from a prodigy, infers the defeat of Xerxes' army, ... iv. 223
Dice, game at, invented by the Lydians . i. 154
— Rhampsinitus plays at, with Ceres . . ii. 34
Dictyes, animals in Africa . . . iii. 102
Dictynna, a name of Diana . . ii. 219, n.
Didymus, temple at . . . . . iii. 276
Dieneces, the Spartan, distinguishes himself in an engagement with the Persians at Thermopylæ, iv. 154—his speech before the engagement . . iv. 154
Dionysius, the Phocean leader, his speech to the Ionians at Lade, iii. 267—after the defeat of the Ionians by the Phœnicians, retreats to Phœnicia, thence sails to Sicily, and there exercises a piratical life . . iii. 274
Dioscuri not among the Ægyptian gods . i. 364
Diphtheræ, books so called by the Ionians . iii. 184
Dipodes, a species of African mice . . iii. 103
Disease, the female, the Scythians afflicted with, for plundering the temple of Venus . . i. 166
Disease, sacred, Cambyses laboured under, from his birth, ... ii. 183
Dithyrambic measure . . . i. 53
Divers, remarkable . . iv. 175, n.
Divination, in Ægypt, confined to certain deities . i. 421

— how practised by the Scythians, ii. 424—various modes of it, 425, n.—three diviners sent for, on the indisposition of the Scythian monarch, 425—Scythian mode of punishing false diviners . . . ii. 426
— mode of, practised by the Nasamones, iii. 77—inventors of various kinds . . iii. 349, n.
— argument against the reality of Pagan divination, iv. 240, n.—diviners sold their knowledge at a very high price, 345, n.—mode of, by inspecting the entrails, ... iv. 370, n.
Dodona, oracle of, i. 80, n.—the most ancient of Greece, 377—its origin, according to the assertion of its prietesses, ... i. 380
Dogs, Indian, an immense number supported by four towns in Babylonia, i. 260—Indian, celebrated among the ancients, 260, n.—their death lamented by the Ægyptians, 393—why not suffered to enter the precincts of the temple of Jerusalem, 393, n.—now considered in the east as defiling, 393, n.—the females buried by the Ægyptians . . . . . i. 394
— men with the heads of . . . . iii. 98
Dolonci, Thracian, elect Miltiades, the son of Cypselus, their prince, iii. 298—restore their prince Miltiades, the son of Cimon . . . . . iii. 302
Dolphins, their friendship for man . . . i. 56, n.
Door of an house, sitting before it, usual in the East, ... iii. 297, n.
Dorians, those situate in Asia subdued by Crœsus, i. 35—origin of . . . . . i. 91
— descent of their princes . . . iii. 315
Dorieus, son of Cleomenes, his birth, iii. 158—leaves Sparta, and founds a colony, 159—is expelled from thence, 160—is advised by Antichares to found Heraclea in Sicily, 160—consults the oracle at Delphi, and on a favourable reply sails to Italy, 161—lost his life in acting contrary to the express commands of the oracle . iii. 163
Doriscus, the Persian army marshalled there, and numbered by Xerxes . . . . iii. 483
Dragon, in the Old Testament, generally signifies a crocodile . . . . . i. 396, n.
Dreams, the Atlantes said never to have, iii. 93—notion of the ancients concerning a distinct one, 178, n.—to dream of lying with one's mother considered as fortunate, 379, n.—Mr. Locke's words on . iii. 442, n.
Dress, variety of fashions in . . ii. 278, n.
Drinking, to make parties for, esteemed highly meritorious among the Caunians . . . i. 235
— alternately from each other's hands, the ceremony used

by the Nasamones in pledging their word, iii. 77—the only ceremony in the marriages of the Algerines, 77, n. —intemperate, characteristic of the Scythians and Thracians, 351, n.—intemperate, its effect well described by Prior, 351, n.—the Greeks never drank till they had done eating . . iii. 404, n.
Dupin, his ridiculous translation of a passage in Pliny, ... ii. 294, n.
Dutch, their offer to make the Tagus navigable as far as Lisbon, why rejected by the Spaniards . i. 239, n.
Dyras, the river, said to have risen spontaneously in aid of Hercules when burning . . iv. 130

E.

Eagle, its figure often worn by the sovereign princes of Greece on their sceptres . . i. 266, n.
Earth, the, adored by the Persians, i. 194—divided by the Greeks into three parts . . i. 318
— the notion of its circumference ridiculed by Herodotus, ii. 389—worshipped by the Scythians . ii. 413
Earth and Water, bringing to an enemy, in the East, an acknowledgment of his superiority, iii. 25—required by Megabyzus of Amyntas,. 134—demanded by Darius from different parts of Greece, 309—demanded in Greece by the heralds of Xerxes . iii. 456
Earthquake, at Delos . . . . . iii. 366
Earthquakes, ascribed to Neptune . . iv. 53
Ecbatana, in Media, built . . . i. 158
Ecbatana, in Syria, Cambyses mortally wounded at, ii. 228
Eclipse at an engagement between the Lydians and the Medes, foretold by Thales, i. 120; iii. 463, n.—during an engagement between Cyaxares and the Lydians, i. 164
— during the march of Xerxes' army against Greece, ... iii. 463
— effect of one on Cleombrotus, iv. 316—in early ages deemed an inauspicious omen . . iv. 316, n.
Edifice built by Rhampsinitus to contain his riches, ii. 28—of one entire stone, brought by 2,000 men in three years from Elephantine to Saïs, 122—a subterranean one, built by Zamolxis . . ii. 457
Eel, venerated by the Ægyptians, i. 403; and why, 403, n.
— those of Bœotia esteemed . . iv. 88, n.
Effeminacy the product of luxurious countries . iv. 424
Eleans send ambassadors to Ægypt, to consult on the Olympic

— esteemed by the Persians of greater value than other slaves . . . iii. 268
— black eunuchs preferred in the East . iv. 268, n.
Euphorion entertained at his house Castor and Pollux, ... iii. 402
Euphrates divides Babylon into two parts, i. 245—its waters drained by Cyrus, 258—fertilizes the land of the Assyrians . . . . . i. 260
— is only passable in vessels . . . . iii. 174
Euripus, Aristotle reported to have destroyed himself there, ... iii. 207, n.
Europa carried away by the Cretans, i. 29—her sons, i. 236
Europa an Asiatic, and never saw Europe . ii. 401
Europe, tin and amber brought from, to Greece . i. 299
— a prodigious quantity of gold in the north of Europe, ii. 300—some account of, 393, 400—its most remote inhabitants . . . . . ii. 407
Eurybates of Argos, killed in a single combat, iii. 362; . . . . . iv. 382
Eurybiades, son of Euryclidas, commands the Grecian fleet at Salamis, iv. 203—is prevailed on by Themistocles to stay and fight at Salamis, 222—honoured by the Lacedæmonians . . . . . iv. 284
Euryleon, takes possession of Minoas, and delivers it from the oppression of Pythagoras, iii. 164—is slain by the Selinusians before the altar of Jupiter Forensis, iii. 164
Eurymachus, son of Leontiades, slain at Platæa . iv. 188
Eurysthenes, son of Aristodemus, iii. 45—how discovered by the Lacedæmonians to be the eldest son of Aristodemus, 313—at variance with his brother through life iii. 313
Eurytus dies fighting valiantly . iv. 156
Euxine sea, of all seas most deserves admiration, ii. 448—its length and breadth . . . . ii. 448
Expiation, ceremonies of, nearly the same among the Lydians and Greeks, i. 69—a full account of its ceremonies given by Apollonius Rhodius . . . . i. 70, n.

F.

Family, reply of Iphicrates on being reproached with the meanness of his . . . . iii. 180, n.
Famine, resource against, practised by the Lydians i. 154
— the army of Cambyses suffer by, ii. 172—dreadful effects of, at the siege of Jerusalem . . ii. 172, n.
— among the troops of Xerxes, iv. 278—among Artayctes and his people, during the siege of Sestos . iv. 421

Fan, mystical, why carried before the image of Bacchus, iv. 223, n.
Fates, the greater and the less i. 143, n.
Father, in certain arts in Ægypt and Indostan, the son obliged to follow his profession ii. 111, n.
— his profession followed by the son, among the Lacedæmonians iii. 323
Faults, on due examination, no man would exchange his own for those of another iii. 258; iv. 80
Feathers are continually falling in the northern parts of Scythia ii. 357, 382
Feet of vanquished enemies, cut off ii. 421, n.
Festival, Apaturian i. 213
— *of Apis,* suppressed by Cambyses ii. 179
— *of Bacchus in Ægypt* i. 371
— *of Bacchus among the Budini* iii. 9
— *of Bacchus at Nyssa* ii. 275
— *Carnian in honour of Apollo* iv. 136
— *of Cybele, at Cyzicus* ii. 436
— *of Diana at Bubastos* i. 382
— *Hyacinthia* iv. 312
— *Hybristica* iii. 345, n.
— *of Isis in Ægypt,* i. 359, 383—*of Juno,* 63—*of Lamps in Ægypt,* 385—*of Latona at Butos* i. 383
— *Magophonia* ii. 249
— *of Mars at Papremis,* i. 383—*of Minerva at Saïs* i. 383
— *of Minerva, among the Machlyes and Ausenses in Africa,* iii. 85
— *of the Sun at Heliopolis,* i. 383—*Theophanian at Delphi,* i. 87
— *of Vulcan, among the Greeks* iv. 261
— first introduced by the Ægyptians, i. 382—none in Ægypt without illuminations i. 386, n.
— an ancient distinction at iii. 317, n.
Figs, unknown to the Persians i. 116
Fingers, the first mode of reckoning by iii. 327, n.
Fire, the ancient Persians dared not to extinguish it with water i. 195, n.
— venerated by the Persians, ii. 155—extinguished throughout Persia on the death of the sovereign, 155, n.—venerated by the Ægyptians, 156, n.—carried before the Persian sovereigns and Roman emperors, 156, n.—the magi worshipped God only by it ii. 247, n.
— applied by the Africans to the veins of the top of the scull or of the temples of their children, at the age of four years, and why, iii. 95—applied by the Scythians to their shoulders, arms, and stomachs, 95, n.—the appearance of fire self-kindled was generally deemed by the ancients an auspicious omen iii. 349, n.
— intelligence conveyed by fires iv. 309, n.

Firmament, adored by the Persians under the appellation of Jove . . . . . i. 124
Fish, the only food of three tribes of the Babylonians, i. 273 —the Ægyptian priests not permitted to feed on, 355 —the lepitodus and the eel venerated by the Ægyptians, 403—principal food of the Ægyptians, 413, 436—their mode of propagation in Ægypt . i. 436
— the principal food of horses and cattle at the Prasian lake, ... iii. 133
— from Sicyon, esteemed, iv. 88, n.—prodigy of the quick motion of salt fish while broiling . iv. 422
Fishery in the lake Mœris . . ii. 90
Flagellation, a custom of the Ægyptians . i. 360, 384
— at the altar of the Orthosian Diana . ii. 451, n.
Flesh, eaten raw by the Indians called Padæi, ii. 278; and by the Abyssinians . . . ii. 279, n.
Flutes, masculine and feminine . . i. 48
Fortune, her inconstancy admirably described by Horace, ... ii. 194, n.
Forum, times of the . . . ii. 285, n.
Fountain, remarkable one in Æthiopia, ii. 167—bitter, in Scythia . . . . ii. 409, 443
— of Apollo in Africa, iii. 57—of Thestis at Irasa, 59—of the Sun, 88—nine fountains near Athens, 411—of the Mæander and Cataracte . . iii. 452
— Castalia, iv. 195, n—of Gargaphie . . iv. 332
Frankincense, ii. 289, n.—how collected by the Arabians, ii. 290
Friend, the life of one preferred to those of a wife and children . . . ii. 305, n.
Frog, the symbol of the people of Argos . iv. 236, n.
Fuel, resources in the eastern countries, where there is a scarcity of it . . . ii. 415, n.
Funerals, shrill pipe used at, i. 59, n.—Persian, 204; ii. 156 —ancient custom of hiring people to lament at, i. 270, n. —Ægyptian . . . i. 423; ii. 156
— interment common in Greece, ii. 156, n.—the custom of interment preceded that of burning, 156, n.—when burning ceased at Rome, 157, n.—Æthiopian, 169—public one at Athens, 213, n.—of Alexander the Great, 213, n.—of the Scythian kings, 428—of the Scythians in general . . . ii. 432
— of the Greek and African Nomades, iii. 97—the Nasamones bury in a sitting posture, 97—of the Trausi, 120; of other Thracians, 125—in the East similar to those of the Jews, 125, n.—origin of funeral games unknown, 126, n.—of the Lacedæmonian kings, 322—lamentations at, still prevail in Ægypt and various parts of the East, 322, n.—dancing a part of the ceremony among the ancients . . . . iii. 405, n.

— of the Greeks slain at Platæa . . iv. 392
Furies, particulars concerning them . iii. 47, n.
Furs, no where mentioned in Scripture . iii. 10, n.

G.

Galles, a wandering nation of Africans, their custom with respect to their wives and children, in case of war iii. 86, n.
Games, public in honour of Perseus . . i. 431
— funeral . . . . iii. 126, n.
— Olympic. See *Olympic Games*
— Pythian . . . . . iv. 209
Garamantes, a people who avoid communication with men, ... iii. 79
Gargaphie, the fountain of, iv. 332—its waters stopped up by the Persians . . . . . iv. 359
Garlands, worn at feasts, and given by one friend to another, ... iii. 334, n.
Gate, the king's, an honourable situation in Persia, ... ii. 307, n.
Geese, sacrificed by the Ægyptians . i. 368
Geinoz, Abbé, intended to give a new edition of Herodotus, ... i. 73, n.
Gela, the city, some account of . iii. 285, n.; iv. 81, n.
Gelimer, king of the Vandals, strange effect of grief in . . . . . ii. 151, n.
Gelon, son of Dinomenis, his power considerable, iv. 71—distinguishes himself in several wars, 84—obtains the supreme authority of Gela, and possession of Syracuse, 85—his treatment of the people of Megara and Eubœa, 86—address to him from the Grecian ambassadors, 86—offers the Greeks assistance on certain terms, which they reject, 87—sends Cadmus to Delphi with three vessels and a large sum of money, 93—with Theron, conquers Amilcar, 96—said to have destroyed Amilcar by a stratagem . . . . . iv. 96, n.
Geometry, origin of . . . . . ii. 12
Gephyreans, their origin, iii. 181—compelled by the Bœotians to retire to Athens, 186—bridges supposed to have taken their Greek name from . iii. 186, n.
Germans, erroneously supposed to have been descended from the Germanians in Persia . . . i. 188, n.
Gerrhus, the river, its course . . . ii. 411
Geryon, said to have three heads and three bodies ii. 358, n.
Getæ, reduced by Darius, ii. 454—believe themselves immortal, 455—represented by all the classic writers as the most daring and ferocious of mankind, 455, n.—be-

lieve in no other god than Zamolxis, 456—follow the army of Darius . . . . ii. 457
Gestation, human, ten months the period of, generally spoken of by the ancients . . . iii. 326, n.
Giants, traditions of in every country . i. 112, n.
Gibbon, Mr. his sensible reflection on the subject of prodigies . . . . iii. 289, n.
Gibraltar, the straits of, sailed through by Phœnicians, in the service of Necho, king of Ægypt . ii. 393, n.
Gillus, Darius endeavours, but without effect, to restore him to Tarentum . . . . ii. 327
Gindanes, lived on the lotus, iii. 80, n.—peculiar custom of their wives . . . . iii. 81
Glaris, extraordinary victory obtained by its people over the Austrians . . . . iv. 390, n.
Glass, the want of, anciently supplied by transparent stones, ... i. 366, n.
— in Æthiopia supplied by crystal . ii. 170, n.
Glaucus, of Chios the inventor of inlaying iron . i. 56
Glaucus, son of Epicydes story of him and a Milesian, iii. 354—his story as related by Juvenal . iii. 356, n.
Glaucus, son of Hippolochus . . i. 212
Glisas, anciently famous for its wine . iv. 352, n.
Gnats, remedy in Ægypt against . i. 438
— great numbers infest Myus . iii. 155, n.
Gnomon, received by the Greeks from the Babylonians, ii. 13
Goats, never sacrificed by the Mendesians, out of reverence to Pan, i. 368—in the Ægyptian language the same name for Pan and for a goat, 369—in Ægypt a goat had public communication with a woman . i. 369
— their urine used by the Africans against convulsions, iii. 95—recommended in an asthmatic complaint, 95, n.—their blood formerly esteemed of benefit in pleurisies, 95, n.—the Athenians determine to sacrifice five hundred yearly to Diana . . iii. 386, n.
Gobryas, one of the seven conspirators against the magi, ii. 236—seizes one of the magi . . ii. 246
— interprets to Darius the meaning of a present sent to him by the Scythians, iii. 31—recommends to Darius a stratagem to deceive the Scythians . iii. 33
God, memorable saying of Simonides of Ceos concerning, ... iii. 243, n.
Gods, supposed by the ancients to abandon a city on the point of being taken, i. 57, n.—inconsistent behaviour of their worshippers to them, 145, n.—stones of different shapes the ancient symbols of, 193, n.—of the Persians, 194—names of the twelve, invented by the Ægyptians, and borrowed from them by the Greeks, 293—altar of

the twelve, at Athens, 298—almost all their names borrowed by Greece from Ægypt, 374—names of those not familiar in Ægypt, 375—worshipped by the Pelasgians without any name, 377—the Ægyptians first imagined what month or day was to be consecrated to each deity, ... i. 420

Gods, asserted by the Ægyptians not to have appeared in a human form for 11,340 years, ii. 74—formerly reigned in Ægypt, 78—what meant by their nativity, marriage, and tombs, 82, n.—of the Arabians, 143—of the Scythians . . . . ii. 413

— of the Africans, iii. 96—of the Thracians . iii. 124

Gog and Magog of Ezekiel meant for the Scythians, ... i. 165, n.

Gold, its proportion to silver in the time of Herodotus, i. 46, n. —much used by the Massagetæ . . . i. 285

— its proportion to silver varied at different times, ii. 273, n. in the gold coin of the ancients one fiftieth part is supposed to have been alloy, 273, n.—in India cast up by ants, 281—in the north of Europe, 300—the Spartans not allowed to have any, 335, n.—the sacred gold of the Scythians . . . . ii. 356

— traffic for, between the Carthaginians and a people beyond the columns of Hercules, iii. 107—said by Lucretius to have been held in no estimation, 170, n.—Crœsus gives Alcmæon as much as he can carry . iii. 398

— great quantities found in the tents of the Persians after the battle of Platæa . . . . iv. 388

Gold dust descends from mount Tmolus . i. 149; iii. 242

— how procured in Cyranis in Africa . iii. 105

Golden, a water in Persia so called, drunk by none except the king and his eldest son . . i. 255, n.

Gorgo, daughter of Cleomenes, king of Sparta, remarkable for her virtue, iii. 166, n.—her wise saying to her father, ... iii. 173

— explains the secret message of Demaratus to the Lacedæmonians . . . iv. 168

Gorgon's head, Perseus visits Ægypt for the purpose of carrying it from Africa . . i. 432

Gorgus, (or Gortes) son of Chersis, deprived of his city by his brother, takes refuge among the Medes, iii. 245—Salamis restored to him . . iii. 252.

— an Officer in Xerxes' fleet . . iv. 27

Goths, their mythology . . . ii. 422, n.

Government, at first theocratic, then monarchic and democratic, ii. 78, n.—arguments in favour of a republican, 250; of an oligarchy, 252; of a monarchy, 255—the Lacedæmonian, 257, n.—of Great Britain, 257, n.—

the sixth book of Polybius opens with a dissertation on the different forms of . . ii. 257, n.
— an equal form of, the best . . iii. 209
Grass, presented to a conqueror by the ancient nations of the West, to shew that they confessed themselves overcome . . . . iii. 26, n.
Grasshoppers, why worn by the Athenians in their hair, ... iv. 91, n.
Greece, formerly discriminated only the names of its different inhabitants . . i. 28, n.
— distinguished for its temperate seasons . ii. 287
Greeks, more tenacious of their national dignity than the Romans, i. 25, n.—universally free before the time of Crœsus, 35—their profuse sacrifices, 84, n.—Crœsus endeavours to obtain the alliance of their most powerful states, 91—distinguished by their acuteness; and the Athenians most sagacious, 97—their manners and customs not essentially different from those of the Lydians, 151—did not worship images before the time of Cecrops, 193, n.—believe that the gods partake of human nature, 194—said by the Persians not to leave their tables satisfied, 197—a passion for boys learned from them, 199—write, and reckon with counters, from the left to the right, 352—the name of Hercules communicated to them by the Ægyptians, 364—visit Ægypt to obtain knowledge, 373, n.—received the names of almost all the gods from Ægypt, 374—their theogony ascribed to Hesiod and Homer, 378—their religious ceremonies derived from the Ægyptians, 382; do not connect themselves with women in their temples, 389—surpassed by the Ægyptians in the reverence they pay to age . i. 418
— call Orus Apollo, ii. 89—considered Osiris the same person as Bacchus, 79, n.; 80—consider Hercules, Bacchus, and Pan, as the youngest of their deities, 80—their tradition of Bacchus, 82—Ægyptian children entrusted with the Ionians and Carians to be instructed in the Greek language, 96—certain of the Greeks settle at Naucratis in Ægypt, 125—their anniversary rites in memory of the dead, 376—Olen, their first poet, ii. 388, n.
— not suffered by the Africans to see Irasa, iii. 57—borrowed from the Africans the vest and ægis, with which they decorate the shrine of Minerva, 96—observe the same ceremonies with the African Nomades in the interment of the dead, 97—various articles of science introduced amongst, by the Phœnicians, 181—the fleet sent by the Athenians to assist the Ionians, the source of calamities to the Greeks and Barbarians, 238—Darius sends emissaries to different parts of Greece, to demand

earth and water, 309—suffered greater evils during the reigns of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes, than in all the preceding generations, 367—weights and measures first introduced amongst, by Pythagoras, 402, n.—why they called every atrocious crime Lemnian, 413—Xerxes determines on an expedition against, 425—their mode of disposing their army, 430, n.—Xerxes demands earth and water of them . . iii. 456
— poor, but virtuous, iv. 31—resolution of those who determined to resist Xerxes against those who submitted to him without necessity, 56—refused, with a few exceptions, to adore the Persian kings, 61, n.—previously to an engagement with Xerxes, determine to suppress all private resentments, 70—send three spies to Sardis, 71—the associates against Xerxes apply a second time to the Argives for assistance, 73; who evade giving them any, 74—send ambassadors to form a treaty with Gelon, 81—address of their ambassadors to Gelon, 86—are promised assistance by the Corcyreans, 97; who never fulfil their engagements, 98—are refused assistance by the Cretans, 99—send forces to defend the Olympic straits, 105; but are persuaded by Alexander to withdraw them, 106; in consequence of which they are forsaken by the Thessalians, 107—resolve to defend the straits of Thermopylæ, 107; and there receive Xerxes, their fleet being stationed at Artemisium, 110—three of their vessels taken by Xerxes at Sciathus, 111—a second time fix their station at Artemisium, 124—take fifteen of the Persian vessels, 125—encamp in the straits of Thermopylæ, 131—numbers of their army at Thermopylæ, 132—on the approach of Xerxes consult on a retreat, but are dissuaded by Leonidas, 136—are defeated by the Persians at Thermopylæ, 150—their naval armament at Artemisium, 169—engage in a sea-fight with the Persians at Eubœa, 173—take thirty of their vessels, 178; and are separated by the night, 179—defeat the Cilicians, 182—again engage the Persians by sea, 182; when both fleets retire, 183—deliberate about retiring to the remoter parts of Greece, 184—their contentions at the Olympic games, represented by Tigranes to the Persians as a proof their virtue, 190—their fleet anchors at Salamis, 202—informed that Xerxes had burnt the citadel of Athens, part prepare to fly, and the rest determine to risk an engagement at sea near the isthmus, 216—Themistocles prevails on Eurybiades, their commander, to stay and fight at Salamis, 222—on a convulsion of the earth, which was felt at sea, the Greek confederates supplicate the gods, and implore the interposition of the Æacidæ, 222—defend the Peloponnese against Xerxes, 233—dis-

sensions among them at Salamis, 237—a catalogue of, remarkable for their merit and poverty, given by Ælian, 242, n.—finding it impracticable to return to the isthmus, prepare for battle, 245—destroy a great part of Xerxes' fleet at Salamis, 248; with but small loss on their own side, 251—several, whose ships are destroyed, escape by swimming to Salamis, 251—the art of swimming a material part of Grecian education, 251, n.—pursue Xerxes as far as Andros, and then resolve to suffer him to escape, 271—their account of Xerxes and his invasion of Greece, rejected by Mr. Richardson, 280, n.—attack Carystus, and after wasting its lands, return to Salamis, 282—at Salamis, set apart, as sacred to the gods, the first fruits of their success, 282; then divide the plunder, and send the choicest to Delphi, 283—erect a statute at Delphi, 283—sail to the isthmus, 283—declare that Themistocles deserved the second reward, but avoid from envy to decide who deserved the first, and severally return to their own homes, 284—their fleet at Ægina, against Mardonius, 290—arrive at Platæa, 332—amount of their army at Platæa, 340—offer sacrifices previously to battle, 342; which promise them victory, if they act on the defensive, 346—in want of water and provision, change their situation, 361—are pursued by the Barbarians, 366—come to an engagement at Platæa, and are victorious, 372—plunder the Persian camp after the battle of Platæa, 388—inter their dead after the battle of Platæa, 392—besiege Thebes, and put to death the Thebans who had taken part with the Medes, 394—their fleet sails from Delos, 402; and arrives at Mycale, 404—defeat the Persians at Mycale, 408—sail from Mycale, to Abydos, 418—the Peloponnesians return to Greece, and the Athenians besiege and take Sestos, 419—the Athenians return from the battles of Platæa and Mycale to Greece . . . iv. 423

Griffins . . ii. 365, n.; iii. 52, n.

Grinus, son of Æsanius, commanded by the Pythian to build a city in Africa . . . . iii. 49

Groves at Mona, excellent use made of their supposed sanctity by Mr. Mason . . iii. 347, n.

Gryphins . . . . ii. 365

Gum arabic, used by the Ægyptians in embalming i. 427, n.

Gyges, son of Dascylus, various accounts of, i. 42, n.—murders Candaules, and obtains his empire, 43—sends presents to Delphi, 45—his riches proverbial, 46, n.—takes the city Colophon, 47—the answer of the oracle to him . . . . . i. 62, n.

Gymnastic exercises . . i. 432, n.

Gymnopædia, some account of . . iii. 331, n.
Gyndes, the river, reduced by Cyrus through resentment, ... i. 257
— divided by Cyrus into three hundred and sixty channels, . . iii. 175

H.

Habit, distinction between it and custom . ii. 191, n.
Habits, military, of the Greeks and Romans, very much resembled each other . . iii. 168, n.
Hair, worn short by the Argives, and long by the Lacedæmonians, after the latter had obtained Thyrea, i. 131—formerly worn long by the Greeks, 131, n.—why cut off before, and suffered to grow behind, by the Abantes, 211, n.—order of Alexander the Great, concerning that of his troops, 211, n.—worn long by the Babylonians, 265—of the priests, worn short in Ægypt, in other places long, 348—the Ægyptians, on the loss of their friends, suffer their hair to grow; other nations cut it off, 349—of the eye-brows, cut off by the Ægyptians on the death of a cat, 392—of the head, and every part of the body, shaved by the Ægyptians on the death of a dog . i. 393
— cut off by the Delian youth, in honour of the Hyperborean virgins, ii. 386—offering it to the gods, of great antiquity, 386, n.—cut off in honour of the dead, in a circular form; a custom forbidden the Jews . ii. 386, n.
— a tuft only worn in the centre of the head by the Macæ, iii. 80—by the Maxyes suffered to grow on the right side of the head, but not on the left, 98—worn long by the Persians, 276—shaved by the Milesians in testimony of sorrow . . . . . iii. 278
— Lacedæmonians adorn theirs, before any enterprise of danger, iv. 138—the Persians cut off the hair from themselves, their horses, and beasts of burden, on the death of Masistius . . . . iv. 331
Halys, the river, its course, i. 34—its two branches, 34, n. and 117, n. celebrated for its coldness . . i. 117, n.
Hands of vanquished enemies, cut off . . ii. 421 n.
Hannibal, an artifice practised by him . . ii. 214, n.
Happiness, Solon's sentiments on . . . i. 62
Hare, conceives when already pregnant . . ii. 291
Harmocydes animates the Phoceans against the Persian cavalry under Mardonius . . . iv. 325
Harmodius with Aristogiton puts Hipparchus to death, iii. 178
Harpagus, Astyages places great confidence in, i. 172—is

commanded by Astyages to take Cyrus, and put him to death, 172—delivers Cyrus to Mitridates to be exposed, 174; who, contrary to his orders, preserves him, 177; on the discovery of which Astyages causes Harpagus to eat of his own dead son, 182—his submissive reply to Astyages on that occasion, 183—invites Cyrus to seize on the dominions of Astyages, 187—insults Astyages in captivity, 191—is appointed by Cyrus to the command of his army, 225—arrives in Ionia and blockades the different towns, 225—takes Phocea, 225—takes the city of the Tejans, 230—and the other cities of Ionia, Miletus excepted, 231—proceeds against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians, 233; and subdues them. . . i. 238

— takes Histiæus prisoner, iii. 291; and he and Artaphernes crucify him . . . . iii. 292

Hawk, whoever kills one, put to death by the Ægyptians, i. 391—the ancient Ægyptians, in this animal worshipped the sun, 391, n.—Osiris worshipped under the figure of one, 391, n.—buried by the Ægyptians . . i. 395

Heads of vanquished enemies exposed as trophies ii. 421, n.

— of sacrificed animals imprecated by the Ægyptians, i. 358

—of beasts never eaten by the Ægyptians . i. 359

— See *Skulls*.

Health, attention of the Ægyptians to . . . i. 411

Hecatæus the historian, i. 401, n.; 405, n.; ii. 75, n.; iii. 257. —Herodotus did not borrow from him, i. 401, n.; 405, n.; . . . . . ii. 75, n.

— some account of him . . . . ii. 76. n.

— his advice to Aristagoras, iii. 153. 257—his account of Miltiades' gaining possession of Lemnos . iii. 411

Hecatombs, their origin . . . iii. 404, n.

Hector, son of Priam, superior to Paris in age and virtue . . . . . ii. 27

Hegesistratus, son of Aristagoras, his name considered by Leutychides as an omen . . iv. 399

Hegesistratus, the Elean, escapes from prison, by cutting off a part of his foot . . . iv. 347

Heifer, Mycerinus inters his daughter in one of wood, ii. 54

— to touch one, esteemed impious by the Cyrenean women, iii. 94—the women of Barce abstain from its flesh, iii. 94

Helen, demanded by the Greeks . . . . i. 30

— styled Venus the stranger, ii. 18—detained by Proteus, 22—the cause of the Trojan war, 25—restored by Proteus to Menelaus . . . ii. 26

— Attica invaded by the Tyndaridæ on her account, iv. 380

Heliopolis, its inhabitants deemed the most ingenious of all the Ægyptians, i. 292—two cities of this name, 297, n.

— that mentioned by Herodotus probably the On of the Scriptures, and celebrated for the worship of the sun . . . . . i. 298, n.
Hell, descent into, a form of admission into the mysteries, ... iv. 207, n.
Hellanodicæ, the judges at the Olympic games . iii. 140, n.
Hellenians, frequently migrated, i. 91—called Dorians i. 91
Hellenium, a temple of the Greeks . . . ii. 125
Hellespont, its breadth and length . . . ii. 448
— its original name, iii. 427, n.—the Persians throw a bridge across it, 457; which being destroyed by a tempest, Xerxes orders three hundred lashes to be inflicted on the Hellespont, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into the sea, 458—another bridge constructed over it by the order of Xerxes, 459—Xerxes preparing to pass the bridge, throws into the Hellespont a cup, a golden goblet, and a Persian scymetar . . iii. 480
Hellopia, why so called . . . iv. 188, n.
Helmet, crest first added to, by the Carians . i. 233
— used by the ancients on various occasions . ii. 93, n.
— borrowed by the Greeks from Ægypt . . iii. 86
Helots, a kind of public slaves to the Spartans, iii. 321, n.; . . . . . iv. 189, n.
Hemp, used by the Thracians for making garments, ii. 433—Scythian manner of extracting a perfumed vapour from, ... ii. 433
Heraclea, Dorieus, son of Cleomenes, king of Sparta, being advised to found it, sails to Italy . iii. 160
Heraclidæ, their origin, i. 37—excluded from the kingdom of Lydia by the Mermnadæ . . i. 45
— of Sparta, demand a compensation from Xerxes, for the death of Leonidas, iv. 277—attempted to return to the Peloponnese . . . iv. 333
Heralds, their persons always sacred . . ii. 223, n.
Hercules, his reputed parents of Ægyptian origin, i. 364—son of Amphitryon and Alcmena, 365, n.; ii. 81—his temple at Tyre highly venerated, i. 366—preposterous fable in Greece concerning him . i. 367
— arriving in Scythia, discovers a female of unnatural appearance, ii. 359—by whom he has three sons, 360—the father of Scythia, the founder of the Scythians, 361—worshipped by the Scythians, 413—an impression of his foot in Scythia, 445—said to have measured the stadium at Olympia by the length of his own foot, 445, n.—his size whence estimated by Pythagoras, 445, n.—whence the proverb, "Ex pede Herculem" . . ii. 445 n.
— his contest with Eryx, iii. 161, n.—his temples on the plains of Marathon and in Cynosargis . iii. 391

— his altar at Thermopylæ, iv. 109—deserted by Jason, 125—when burning, aided by the spontaneous rise of the Dyras . . . . iv. 130
Hercules, Ægyptian, one of the most ancient deities of Ægypt, i. 365—according to Cicero, not the most ancient, 365, n.—his oracle. . . i. 421
— his temple, ii. 20—in the second rank of Ægyptian gods, ... ii. 80.
Hercules, Grecian, not known in Ægypt . i. 364
Hercules, Olympian . . . i. 367
Hercules, Thasian . . . i. 366
Hercules, Tyrian . . . i. 366
— supposed to be the Israelitish Sampson, iv. 228, n.—many things in his worship seem borrowed from the Levitical law, or grounded on what the scripture relates of Sampson . . . . iv. 229, n.
Hercules, columns of . . . i. 344; iii. 87
— more anciently called the columns of Briareus, iii. 87, n.
— a people beyond them, 107—names of . iii. 107, n.
Hermippus, betrays Histiæus . . iii. 261
Hermolycus, son of Euthynus . . iv. 409
Hermotimus, his unexampled revenge . . iv. 266
Herodotus, sketch of the life of, i. 1—design of his History, 22—simplicity of his introduction, 25, n.—his name to be so spelt, and not Erodotus, 26, n.—no author more warmly commended, or more vehemently censured, 26, n.—an English translation of his history printed in 1584, 29, n.—censured by Voltaire, 54, n.—his malignity, according to Plutarch, 64, n.—instance of his sincerity, 209, n.—personally visited the places which he more circumstantially describes, 263, n.—did not borrow from Hecatæus, 401, n.; ii. 75, n.—lived four hundred years after Hesiod and Homer, i. 379—did not write the life of Homer, 379, n.—particularly wishes to avoid the discussion of sacred subjects . i. 389
— knew nothing of the Jews, ii. 6, n.—instance of his not being so credulous as generally imagined, 33—never charged with theft by Plutarch, 75, n.—whence the names of his books, 133, n.—history and morals his proper walks, 189, n.—a strong contrast between him and a modern Gallic republican, 189, n.—his manner of reflecting on the facts he relates, 193, n.—had a very confined knowledge of India, 276, n.—perfectly uninformed in subjects of natural philosophy, 285, n.—falsely accused by Stillingfleet of geographical ignorance, ... ii. 358, n.
— Dean Swift's opinion of him, iii. 300, n—justified against Plutarch, respecting the battle of Marathon iii. 377, n.

— declares it incumbent on him to record the different opinions of men, though he is not obliged indiscriminately to credit them, iv. 80—declares his faith in oracles . . . . . iv. 240
Hesiod, the Grecian theogony ascribed to him, i. 378—lived four hundred years before Herodotus . . i. 379
— a rhapsodist . . . . iii. 195, n.
Hesperides, rise of the fable of their gardens . iii. 74, n.
Hieronymus, an Andrian, a famous wrestler . . iv. 343
Himera, famous for it baths . . iii. 286, n.
Hindoos, resemblance between them and the ancient Ægyptians . . . . . ii. 111, n.
Hipparchus son of Pisistratus, put to death by Aristogiton and Harmodius, iii. 178—his vision previous to his death, ... iii. 180
Hippias, son of Pisistratus, succeeds Hipparchus in the government of Athens, and resents his death, iii. 186—excites the Persians against the Athenians, 236—conducts the Persian army to Marathon, 371—his vision, 378—in the act of sneezing loses a tooth, which he considers as inauspicious . . iii. 379
Hippoclides, son of Tisander, his absurd conduct when a candidate for the daughter of Clisthenes, iii. 404—his expression on that occasion proverbial . iii. 405
Hippocrates, father of Pisistratus, beholds a wonderful prodigy . . . . . i. 93
Hippocrates, physician of Cos, to his aphorisms in medicine scarcely a new one has been added . i. 422, n.
Hippocrates, prince of Gela, betrays the Zancleans to the Samians . . . . . iii. 286
Hippocrates, son of Pantareus, succeeds his brother in the sovereignty of Gela, iv. 83—loses his life in a war against the Sicilians . . . . iv. 84
Hippopotamos, esteemed sacred in Papremis, but in no other part of Ægypt, i. 401—generally supposed the Behemoth of Scripture, 402, n.—several particulars of, 402, n.—its nature and properties . . i. 402
Hipsicratea, to gratify her husband, constantly wore the habit of a man . . . . iii. 45. n.
Histiæa, the city of, possessed by Xerxes' fleet . iv. 188
Hystiæus, son of Lysagoras, iii. 146—enabled the Persians under Darius to repass the Ister, 40—prevented by Darius from building a city in Thrace, and taken by him to Susa, 143—his manner of conveying a secret message to Aristagoras, 153—taken captive by Latragoras, 155—by his protestations deludes Darius, who sends him against Aristagoras in Ionia, 247—proceeds to Sardis, where he perceives himself suspected by Artaphernes,

259—assumes the command of the Ionian forces against Darius, 260—is seized by the Chians, but released, 260—his letters to certain Persians at Sardis, on the subject of a revolt, intercepted, 261—attempts to land at Miletus, and is wounded in the thigh: again sets sail for Chios, and passes over to Mitylene; and with eight triremes properly equipped, proceeds to Byzantium, 262—informed of the fate of Miletus, confides to Bisaltes the affairs of the Hellespont, and departs with some Lesbians for Chios, 287—gives battle to the detachment defending Chios, and kills a great number of them, and subdues the residue of the Chians, 288—besieges Thasus, but raises the siege, 290; and is taken prisoner in a battle with Harpagus, 291—his desire of life, 291—is crucified by Artaphernes and Harpagus, 292—his head sent to Darius, who orders it to be honourably interred . . . . . iii. 292

History, its derivation in the Greek, i. 26, n.—what it implies in its original sense . . . . i. 26, n.

Hoffman, a mistake in his lexicon . . ii. 444, n.

Homer, his ignorance in geography, i. 327, n.—the invention of the Grecian theogony ascribed to him, 378; this contradicted, 378, n.—lived four hundred years before Herodotus, 379—his life, ascribed to Herodotus, not written by him . . . . i. 379, n.

— not ignorant of Helen's arriving at the court of Proteus, though he no where mentions it, ii. 22—names of the different parts of his poems, 22, n.—did not write the Cyprian verses, 24—extolled for his lyes, 239, n.—his Epigonoi, 383—the author of various poems, besides the Iliad and Odyssey . . . . ii. 383, n.

— a rhapsodist, iii. 195, n.—his verses generally selected in the poetical contests of the rhapsodists at Sicyon iii. 195

Honey, used to preserve dead bodies . i. 253, n.; 270

— abundance of, among the Zygantes, iii. 104—various kinds of, 105, n.—made of the tamarisk and wheat at Callatebus . . . . iii. 456

Horns, in cold countries, will not grow, or are always diminutive . . . . . ii. 380

— of peculiar size and form . . . iii. 90, n.

Horses, in the lands near Sardis feed on serpents, 1, 125—have no antipathy to camels, 128, n.; iv. 18, n.—a consecrated white one of Cyrus lost, i. 256—the province of Babylon maintains eight hundred stallions and sixteen thousand mares for the Sovereign's use, 260—sacrificed to the sun by the Massagetæ, 288—sacrificed to Neptune . . . . iv. 288, n.

— Darius chosen king of Persia by the neighing of one, ii.

260—the Cilicians produced to Cyrus the tribute of a white one every day, 268—particulars concerning, 287, n.—mares' milk drunk by the Scythians, 351—trained to the chace by the Iyrcæ, 372—white esteemed by the ancients and by the modern Tartars, 373, n.—bear the extremest cold in Scythia, 379—wild white ones round the river Hypanis in Scythia, 408—respect paid to one by the emperor Hadrian, 409, n.—sacrificed by the Scythians, 416—fifty strangled on the death of the king in Scythia . . . . . ii. 431

— the custom of harnessing four to a carriage, borrowed by the Greeks from Africa, iii. 97—of the Sigynæ, not able to carry a man, 126—those by the Prasian lake feed principally on fish, 133—much esteemed by the Thessalians, 189, n.—that of Artybius assisted his master in battle, 249—Ericthonius the first who drove with four, 296, n.—mode of ranging four horses for the chariot race, 296, n.—the mares of Cimon interred, which had three times obtained the prize at the Olympic games, 373—ten sacred, called Nisæan, 468—Nisæan, remarkable for their swiftness, 468, n.; and size . . . . . iv. 328, n.

— the skins of their heads worn by the Asiatic Æthiopians on their heads, iv. 10—terrified at the sight of camels, 18—the legs of Pharnuches' horse cut off for occasioning his master's death, 19—a sacrifice of white ones offered by the magi to the river Strymon, 42—in Lacedæmonia, possessed only by the wealthy . iv. 285, n.

Hospitality, considered by the ancients as the most sacred of all engagements, ii. 130, n.—its rites, in ancient times, paid without distinction of person . ii. 197, n.

— customs of the ancients respecting, iii. 278, n.—of the Athenians . . . . . iii. 285, n.

— from a regard to its ties, the Athenians spared the life of Alexander the ambassador of Xerxes . iv. 303, n.

Houses, formed of salt, iii. 93—of the asphodel shrub, secured, with rushes, 97—that of Leutychides razed . iii. 338

Hunting, singular mode of . . . ii. 372

Husbandman, his life deemed most contemptible by the Thracians . . . . . iii. 124

Hyacinthia, celebration of . . . . . iv. 312

Hybristica, a feast of the Argives, its origin . iii. 345, n.

Hymees, his exploits and death . . iii. 256

Hymettus, famous for marble, bees, and honey . iii. 411, n.

Hypacyris, the river, its course . . ii. 411

Hypanis, the river, its rise . . ii. 408

Hyperanthes and Abrocomus, brothers of Xerxes, fall in contending for the body of Leonidas . iv. 151

Hyperbaton, happy example of, in Herodotus . iii. 267, n.
Hyperboreans, ii. 365. 383. 384—why they use barley-straw in their sacrifices to Diana . . ii. 386
Hypsipyle, preserves the life of her father Thoas. iii. 413, n.
Hyræades, his daring effort . . . . i. 132
Hyria, built by the Cretans . . iv. 103
Hystaspes, son of Arsamis, by order of Cyrus, leaves his army, to prevent any designs of his son Darius in Persia against Cyrus . . . . i. 282

I.

Iacchus, derivation of the word . . . iv. 223, n.
Jack-all, whence supposed to be the lion's provider, iii. 102, n.
James II. anecdote of, particularly characteristic of the spirit of British sailors . . iv. 281, n.
Jamidæ, Apollo gave the art of divination to . iii. 163, n.
Janus, whence so called . . iv. 343, n.
Januarius, St. liquefying of his blood at Naples, an instance of credulity similar to that of the Carian priestesses in Herodotus . . . i. 240, n.
Iapyges, whence so called . . iii. 3, n.; iv. 103, n.
Jason, his expedition in the Argo . . iii. 83
Ibis, whoever kills one is put to death by the Ægyptians, i. 391—buried by the Ægyptians, 395—an immense deposit of them, 395, n.—why venerated by the Ægyptians, 409—described . . i. 409
Ichneumon, ceremony in Ægypt with respect to . i. 394
Ichthyophagi, not distinctly marked in ancient writers, ii. . . . . 160, n.
Ida, mount, a number of troops of Xerxes, passing under destroyed by a storm . . . iii. 470
Jephtha, the account of his daughter resembles the story of Iphigenia . . . iii. 6, n.
Jerboa of Barbary, the same with the two-footed rat of Herodotus . . . . iii. 103, n.
Jerusalem, called Cadytis . . ii. 104, n.
Jews, their dislike of swine, how accounted for by Plutarch, ... i. 370, n.
— a proof that Herodotus knew nothing of them . ii. 6, n.
— their custom of mourning and feasting at funerals, still observed in the east . . iii. 125, n.
Images, the more ancient nations did not worship them, i. . . . . 193, n.
— the magi abominated all worship of . ii. 247, n.
Imprecations, very frequent in ancient times, and particularly in the east, ii. 242, n. - two remarkable ones, ii. 242, n.

Mœris, the lake, in Ægypt, ii. 87—its pyramids, 89—fishery there, 90—Major Rennell's conjecture of the manner of its formation, 90, n.—what became of the earth that was dug out in forming it . . ii. 91
Mole, why held sacred by the Ægyptians . ii. 95, n.
Monarchy, the best writers of antiquity in favour of, ii. 254, n.—arguments in favour of . ii. 255
Money, the Lydians the first people on record who coined gold and silver into, . . . i. 152
— borrowed in the reign of Asychis, king of Ægypt, by pledging the body of a father . ii. 64
— a coin of the purest gold issued by Darius, iii. 66—a coin of the purest silver, called an Aryandic, issued by Aryandes . . . . iii. 66
— in remoter times the families of kings had but little, iv. 294—particulars respecting its invention and use, 294, n. —gold and silver, not permitted at Lacedæmon, iv. 295, n.
Monkies, eaten by the Zygantes of Africa . iii. 105.
Montesquieu gives an entertaining account of the Troglodytæ . . . . iii. 91, n.
Moon, adored by the Persians, i. 194; iii. 465—swine offered to, by the Ægyptians . . . i. 370
— adored by all the Africans, iii. 96—the Lacedæmonians would undertake no enterprize before it was at the full, 377—doctrine of its influence on the human body now exploded, 394, n.—the time of the new moon preferred in the East to begin a journey, 395, n.—worshipped by several of the oriental nations . . iii. 465, n.
— why the figure of the moon worn by the Arcadians in their shoes . . . . iv. 92, n.
Moors, western, mode of their commerce with the Nigritians . . . . iii. 107, n.
Mountains, the Persians offer sacrifices from the summits of the highest, i. 194—oracular temples mostly situated on . . . . i. 194, n.
— a large one opposite to Samothracia overturned by a search after mines . . . iii. 309
Mourning for the dead, commanded by Cyrus to all his subjects on the death of his wife, i. 289—time of, in ancient and modern Ægypt . . i. 427, n.
See *Funerals*.
Mules never generate any farther, ii. 338, n.; yet one said to have produced a young one at the siege of Babylon, 339; and another at Sardis . . iii. 482
— never produced in the district of Elis; which the inhabitants consider as a curse . . ii. 380
— not produced in Scythia . . iii. 28

Mummies, a proof of the high degree of knowledge of chymistry among the Ægyptians . . i. 424, n.
Muses, why their names annexed to the books of Herodotus, ii. 133, n.—their number, residence, and order, ii. 134, n.
— the city Thespia sacred to . . iii. 211, n.
Music, an important part of Grecian education . ii. 321, n.
Musicians, the Argives the most skilful in Greece . ii. 321
Mycale, the Ionians assemble on, to celebrate the Panionia, ... i. 214
— victory of the Greeks over the Persians at . iv. 397
Mycerinus, king of Ægypt, succeeds Chephren, ii. 53—his equitable reign, 53—inters his daughter in an heifer made of wood, 54—colossal statues of his concubines, 55—is informed by the oracle of the period of his life, 56—built a pyramid, 58—is succeeded by Asychis, ii. 64
Mycithus, son of Chœrus, consecrates a great number of statues in Olympia . . . iv. 104
Mylassa, ancient temple of Jupiter at . i. 234
Mylitta, the Assyrian name for Venus . i. 273
Myrcinus, given by Darius to Histiæus . iii. 129. 141. 257
Myrinæi oppose the Athenians in taking possession of Lemnos, but are compelled to surrender . iii. 415
Myrmidons, whence so called, iii. 221, n.—use of the word in English . . . iii. 221, n.
Myrtle, a favourite plant with the ancients . iii. 480, n.
Mys, sent by Mardonius to consult the different oracles, ... iv. 291
Mysians, injured by a wild boar, request the assistance of Atys, son of Crœsus . . i. 72
Mysteries, Cabirian, i. 375—of Orpheus, 420—Pythagorean, ... i. 420
— Ægyptian, ii. 116—of Ceres . ii. 116; iii. 273; iv. 224
Myus, infested by gnats . . iii. 155, n.

N.

Naked, for even a man to be seen, deemed by the Barbarians a matter of the greatest turpitude . i. 41
Names, the Lycians take theirs from their mothers . i. 237
— no distinction of, among the Atlantes . iii. 92
— anecdote of a Persian, who founded all his merit on the splendour of his name, iv. 225, n.—presages drawn from them, much regarded by the Greeks and Romans iv. 399, n.
Nasamones . . i. 340
— their customs iii. 75. 97

Nations, caution recommended with respect to the imputation of their origin . . iii. 76, n.
Nativities, cast by the Ægyptians, i. 421—by the poets of Greece . . . . . i. 421
Naucratis, courtezans of, generally beautiful, ii. 63—Greeks settled there by permission of Amasis, king of Ægypt, 125—formerly the sole emporium of Ægypt . ii. 126
Naumachiæ, one of the grandest of the Roman shows, ... iii. 471, n.
Naxos, the happiest of the Ionian islands, iii. 145—stands out against a siege by the Persians, 151—the sacred buildings and city, burned by the Persians . iii. 365
Nebuchadnezzar, his image supposed to be alluded to by Herodotus . . . . i. 248, n.
Necho, king of Ægypt, first proved that Africa is surrounded by the sea . . . . ii. 393
Necos, king of Ægypt, succeeds his father, ii. 101—makes the canal leading to the Red Sea, 101—his military enterprizes, 103—succeeded by his son Psammis ii. 104
Neptune, horses sacrificed to, i. 288, n.—the Ægyptians disclaim all knowledge of . . . i. 364
— worshipped by the Africans near lake Tritonis . iii. 96
— supposed to cause earthquakes, iv. 53—and Minerva, said to have placed an olive and a sea in the temple of Erectheus at Athens, 215—his altar at the isthmus, 284—his figure erected by the Greeks after the battle of Platæa . . . . . iv. 389
Neptune, Heliconian . . . . i. 214
Neptune Hippias . . . . iv. 215, n.
Neptune Servator . . . iv. 124
Nets, the Ægyptians cover their beds with, for a protection from gnats . . . . i. 438
Neuri, said to have the power of transforming themselves into wolves, and resuming their former shape at pleasure . . . . ii. 369, n.; iii. 8.
— compelled by serpents to change their habitations iii. 7
Nicknames, the letters of the alphabet given as, by the ancients . . . . iii. 225, n.
Nicodromus, the son of Cnæthus, agrees with the Athenians to deliver Ægina into their hands, iii. 359—flies from Ægina . . . . iii. 360
Nicolaus, son of Bulis, with Aneristus, son of Sperthies, taken and put to death by the Athenians . iv. 62
Niger, the river, a girl richly dressed annually thrown into, ... i. 328, n.
Night, how divided by the Greeks and Romans . iv. 360, n.
Nile, large additions made to the land of Ægypt from its

mud, i. 294—height to which it rises, 296, n.—beautiful description of the time of its inundation, by Lucan, 296, n.—of its name, 304, n.—fertility of its mud, 315, n.—does not completely divide Asia and Africa, 319—its branches, 319—its different appearances beautifully described by Lucan, 320, n.—its priests, 322. 429—considered by the natives as a tutelar deity, 322, n.—time of its inundation, 322—hypotheses for explaining the cause of its inundation, 323—Pococke's explanation of its inundation, most satisfactory, 324. n.—Herodotus's opinion of the cause of its inundation, 327; but his hypothesis is completely refuted, 328, n.—annual sacrifices to its supposed divinity, 328, n.—never has the benefit of rains, 330—why no breeze blows from its surface, 331—its sources, 332—probably still undiscovered by Europeans, 332, n.—some perplexity and serious contradiction in what Herodotus says on this subject, 332, n.—certainly rises in Libya, and probably takes a similar course with the Ister, 343—during its inundation, vessels traverse the fields and plains, 439—Oceanus one of its names, 439, n.—its course diverted by Menes, 442—of its hidden sources, 445, n.—its various names in ancient writers . . . . i. 446

— Pheron lost his sight by hurling a javelin into the vortex of the stream, ii. 16—excellence of its water, 141, n.—no stream or fountain enters into it, 407; this must be understood with some limitation . ii. 407, n.

Nineveh, its inhabitants formerly the first power in Asia, i. 163—taken by the Medes . i. 169

Nisæus, remarkable for producing horses of an extraordinary size . . . iii. 468; iv. 328, n.

Nitetis, the daughter of Apries, sent by Amasis as his own daughter, to be the wife of Cambyses . ii. 135

Nitocris, queen of Babylon, her vast works at Babylon, i. 250—her tomb opened by Darius . i. 253

Nitocris, queen of Ægypt, her stratagem to avenge her brother's death, i. 443—suffocated herself . i. 444

Noah, his ark considered as a kind of temple, ii. 80, n.—the Danube properly the river of . . ii. 405, n.

Nomades, African, iii. 86—their customs . iii. 94

Nomades, Scythian, totally unacquainted with agriculture, ... ii. 370

Nonacris, oaths taken there by the waters of Styx, considered by the Greeks as inviolable . iii. 340, n.

Nysians . . . . . iv. 12

O.

Oath, the Scythians swear by the king's throne, ii. 426—the Turks swear by the Ottoman Porte . ii. 426, n.
— taken by the Peloponnesians previous to their engagement with the Persians under Mardonius . iv. 326, n.
Ocean, Herodotus doubts whether it completely encompasses the earth . . . i. 276, n.
— a bull sacrificed to, by Cleomenes . iii. 344
— *Northern* . . . . . ii. 103
— See *Sea*.
Oceanus, no river of that name known to Herodotus . i. 327
Octomasades deprives his brother of his head . ii. 443
Odin's hall, hope of sitting in it inspired the Gothic warriors with invincible courage . ii. 422, n.
Œbares, groom to Darius, his ingenuity procures his master the sovereignty of Persia . ii. 261
Œbazus, a Persian, his three sons put to death by order of Darius . . . . ii. 446
Œobazus, of Cardia, with other Persians, retires before the Greeks to Sestos, iv. 419—is sacrificed by the Apsinthians to their god Pleistorus . iv. 421
Offices of nature performed at home by the Ægyptians, i. 347—out of doors by the Greeks . i. 347, n.
Offspring, the Persians esteem a man in proportion to the number of his . . . . i. 200
Ointments, precious, their use in hot climates . ii. 435, n.
Oiolycus, son of Theras, whence his name . iii. 47
Oiorpata, the Amazons so called by the Scythians iii. 12
Olen, of Lycia, ii. 388—the first Greek poet, 388, n.—the word, an Ægyptian sacred term . ii. 388, n.
Oligarchy, arguments of Megabyzus in favour of . ii. 252
Olive, applied by the ancients to various uses, and the symbol of different qualities of the mind, iii. 171, n.—the Epidaurians apply to the Athenians for leave to take one of their olives, believing these of all others the most sacred . . . . iii. 213
— one placed in the temple of Erectheus at Athens, iv. 215
Olympia, the stadium at, said to have been measured by Hercules to the length of six hundred of his own feet, ... ii. 445, n.
Olympic games, the Eleans send ambassadors to consult the Ægyptians on . . . . ii. 104
— laws concerning the judges of them, iii. 140, n.—mode of pairing the combatants, 140, n.—the prizes frequently

transferred by the conquerors, 372, n.—several examples of entertainments given by the conquerors in consequence of their victory . . iii. 397, n.
Olympus, seen by Xerxes from Therma . iv. 52
Olynthus, taken by Artabazus . . iv. 287
Omens, from birds . . . . ii. 244, n.
— fire self-kindled, deemed by the ancients auspicious, iii. 349, n.—sneezing considered as auspicious . 379, n.
— drawn from names, much regarded by the Greeks and Romans . . . . iv. 399, n.
Onesilus, of Salamis, occasions a revolt of the Cyprians from the Medes, iii. 244—procures assistance from the Ionians, 248—his combat with Artybius, 249—is slain, 251—yearly sacrifices to him by the people of Amathus, ... iii. 252
Onomacritus, an Athenian priest, recites oracular verses before Xerxes, which induce him to invade Greece . iii. 425
Ophthalmia, not mentioned by Herodotus when speaking of Ægypt, i. 412, n.—only twice alluded to by him, ... i. 423, n.
Opis, an Hyperborean virgin, honoured by the Delians, ii. 211
Oracle of Abas, in Phocis, i. 80 and n; iv. 196. 292—Amphiaraus, i. 81; iv. 292—Apollo, i. 248, n.; 421—Apollo Ismenian, iv. 292—Bacchus, 41—Bacis, 185. 240. 258. 352—Branchidæ, i. 81. 83, n. 222; iii. 154—Butos, ii. 16—the Dead, near the river Acheron, iii. 231—Delos, i. 248, n.—Delphi, 80 and n. 83. 105; iii. 226—Diana, i. 421—Dodona, 80 and n. 377. 380. 382—Hercules, 313—Jupiter Ammon, 80, n. 81. 321. 380. 421—Jupiter at Meroe, 336—Latona, at Butos, 421—Mars, 421; iv. 13—Minerva, i. 421—Pataræ, in Lycia, 248—Thebes, in Ægypt, 382—Trophonius, 80 and n.; . . . . . iv. 292
Oracles, some account of, i. 80, n.—oracular temples mostly situated on mountains, 194, n.—that of Dodona the most ancient of Greece, 377—commencement of the two oracles of Greece and Libya, 379—why the name of doves given them . . i. 381
— mischiefs of . . . iii. 330, n.
— Herodotus declares his faith in them . iv. 240
Oracles, answers of, to Alyattes, i. 50—to Crœsus, 83—to Lycurgus, 106—to the Lacedæmonians, 109. 111—to Crœsus, 134—to the Lydians, 143—concerning Pactyas, 222, 223—to the people of Marea and Apis . i. 321
— to Pheron, ii. 16—concerning Psammitichus, 93—to the Siphnians . . . ii. 217
to Battus, iii. 54—to the Thereans, 56—to Arcesilaus,

62—to Clisthenes, 196—to Eetion, 226—to Cypselus, 230—concerning the Milesians, 275—to the Thracian Dolonci, 295—to the Argives, 345—to Glaucus, iii. 356
— to the Athenians, iv. 65, 66—to the Argives, 74—to the Cretans, 99—to the Spartans, 147—of Bacis, concerning the battle of Salamis, 240—of Bacis, concerning the battle of Platæa . . iv. 352
Oraxes. Vide *Araxes.*
Orestes, son of Agamemnon, his body discovered by Lichas, i. 111
Orœtes, governor of Sardis, contrives the death of Polycrates, ii. 306; and accomplishes it, 313—kills Mitrobates and his son, and a messenger from Darius, 315; by whose command he is put to death . ii. 316
Orpheus, mysteries of . . . . i. 420
— his death, how revenged by the Thracians on their wives, ... iii. 123, n.
Orthian hymn, sung by Arion, i. 54—adapted to excite military ardour . . . . i. 54, n.
Orus, Apollo so called . . . ii. 79. 100
Oryxes, animals in Africa so called . iii. 101
Osiris, worshipped at Philæ, under the figure of the Æthiopian hawk . . . i. 391, n.
— with the Greeks, the same as Bacchus, ii. 79, n.—said to be the same with Apis . . ii. 175, n.
Ossa, seen by Xerxes from Therma . iv. 52
Ostracism, first inflicted on Clisthenes, who introduced it, iii. 202, n.—not always dishonourable, 203, n.; and . . . . . iv. 241, n.
Otanes, son of Pharnaspes, suspects Smerdis the magus not to be the son of Cyrus, ii. 232; and by means of Phædyma, discovers that he is not, 236—with six others, among whom is Darius, forms a conspiracy against Smerdis the magus, 236; and kills him and his brother, 247—his arguments in favour of a republican government, 250—agrees to the establishment of a monarchy, 258—a mark of distinction voted to him and his posterity, 258—sent by Darius to take Samos, 330—takes Samos, and delivers it to Syloson, almost without an inhabitant, 336—repeoples Samos . . ii. 336
— marries a daughter of Darius, iii. 252—is ordered by Darius with Artaphernes to lead their forces into Ionia and Æolia; where they take Clazomenæ and Cyma, iii. 256
Otanes, son of Sisamnes, his appointment under Darius, iii. 143—is made a judge by Cambyses, in the room of his father, who had been put to death for corruption, iii. 143
Othryades, ashamed to survive three hundred of his countrymen in a combat with the Argives, kills himself i. 132

Otters, produced by the Nile, and venerated by the Ægyptians, ... i. 403
— their skins used by the Budini, to border their garments, ... iii. 10
Ovid, banished to a rude and uncivilized country iii. 11, n.
Oxen, their flesh said to be eaten raw from the living ox, by the Abyssinians, ii. 278, n.—in Scythia, without horns, ... ii. 380
— in a part of Africa, a species of oxen, which walk backward whilst feeding iii. 90

P.

Pactolus, flows through the centre of the forum at Sardis, iii. 242—brings, in its descent from Tmolus, a quantity of gold dust . . . iii. 242
Pactyas effects a revolt of the Lydians in the absence of Cyrus, i. 218— informed of the advance of an army against him, flies to Cyme, 221—is delivered up by the Chians, 224; this account contradicted by Plutarch i. 224, n.
Pæan, various usage of the word . iii. 118, n.
Pæonians conquer the Perinthians, iii. 117—submit to the Persians, and are removed to Asia, 132—those led captive by Megabyzus, by the encouragement of Aristagoras, return to Pæonia . . iii. 240
Painting, probably known in Ægypt in the first ages, but no painter there of celebrity, ii. 128, n.—date of its origin, 129, n.—reliques of ancient painting, beautiful, 130, n.—an excellent subject proposed for an historical painting . . . . . ii. 340, n.
Palestine, Syrians of, borrowed the custom of circumcision from Ægypt . . . . ii. 4
— denominated by Herodotus, Syria of Palestine iv. 21, n.
Palm, common in Babylonia, i. 262—celebrated for three hundred and sixty uses, 262, n.—process of its cultivation in Babylonia, 262—why called phœnix, 404, n.—a type of the resurrection . i. 404, n.
Pan, how represented by the Mendesians, i. 368—in the Ægyptian language, the word 'Mendes' used in common for Pan and for a goat . i. 369
— esteemed by the Ægyptians the most ancient of the gods, ii. 80—the son of Penelope and Mercury . ii. 82
— his appearance to Phidippides, iii. 374—his temple on mount Parthenius, 374, n.—a temple erected to him by the Athenians . . . iii. 375

Panathenæa, a festival in honour of Minerva . iii. 180
Pangæus, the mount . . . . . iii. 132
Panionius, his severe punishment by Hermotimus . iv. 270
Panionium, i. 213—its particular site not found by any traveller . . . . . i. 213, n.
— probably suggested to Milton his idea of his Pandemonium . . . . . iii. 263, n.
Pantaleon, destroyed by Crœsus . . . i. 148
Panticapes, the river, its course . . . ii. 411
Pantites, in disgrace, puts an end to his life . iv. 157
Papæus, a name of Jupiter . . . . ii. 413
Paper, its invention and improvement . iii. 184, n.
Paphlagonians, iv. 10—their cavalry esteemed . iv. 127, n.
Papyrus, converted by the ancients to various uses, i. 435, n.
—now scarce in Ægypt . . . i. 435, n.
Parasang . . . . . iii. 304
Parians, were always accounted people of good sense, iii. 145, n.—their method of restoring peace to the Milesians, 146—besieged by Miltiades . iii. 409
Paris, seized with Helen, and sent to Proteus at Memphis, ii. 21—See *Alexander, son of Priam.*
Parnassus, particulars concerning . . iv. 194, n.
Paros. See *Parians.*
Paros, marble of, of inimitable whiteness . ii. 216, n.
— always preferred by the ancient sculptors . iii. 188, n.
Parr, Thomas, his longevity exceeded that of Arganthonius, related by Herodotus . . . . i. 226, n.
Parricide, the Persians will not believe it ever was committed . . . . . i. 201
Parthenius, mount, whence so called . iii. 374, n.
Pataici placed by the Phœnicians at the prow of their triremes . . . . . ii. 188
Patarbemis, his nose and ears cut off by order of Apries, king of Ægypt . . . . . ii. 108
Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, aspired to the sovereignty of Greece . . . . . iii. 149
— conducts five thousand Spartans against the Persians, iv. 316—engages with the Persians at Platæa, 371; and is victorious . . . . . iv. 373
— consecrates a vessel of brass on his victory at Platæa, ... iii. 243, and n.
— protects the concubine of Pharandates, iv. 383—his reply to Lampon, 386—receives a tenth of the plunder at Platæa, 390—his words to the Grecian leaders, on the luxury of the Persians, and the poverty of the Greeks . . . . iv. 391
Pauw, M. a false quotation of his ii. 430, n.

Pelasgians, their language, i. 92.—the Grecian figure of Mercury derived from them, 375—worshipped the gods by no name . . . . i. 377
— expelled Attica by the Athenians, iii. 411—those who settled at Lemnos surprise the Athenian females, while celebrating the feast of Diana; carry many of them to Lemnos, and make them their concubines, 412; put their children to death, and then determine to kill their mothers, 413—their earth, cattle, and wives, cursed with sterility, 414—by command of the Oracle, go to Athens, and engage to submit to whatever satisfaction the Athenians shall propose, 414—agree to surrender Lemnos to the Athenians, on terms which are accomplished by Miltiades . . . . iii. 414
— derivation of their name . . iv. 205, n.
Peloponnese, defended by the Greeks against Xerxes, iv. 233
Peloponnesians, their oath at the isthmus, previous to their engagement with the Persians, iv. 326, n.—after the battle of Mycale, return to Greece . . iv. 419
Pelusium, Senacherib's army put to flight there. . ii. 73
Peneus, the river, formed of several rivers . iv. 53
Pentathlon, the contests of the . . iii. 362
Perdiccas, manner of his obtaining the throne of Macedonia, ... iv. 294
Perfumes, antiquity of their use in the East . i. 266, n.
— particulars concerning . . . ii. 160, n. 435, n.
— of Athens esteemed . . . . iv. 88, n.
Periander, son of Cypselus . . . . i. 50
— some account of him, ii. 203, n.—sends three hundred children of the Corcyreans to be made eunuchs, 203—kills his wife, 205—banishes his son Lycophron, 206—takes Epidaurus, and makes Procles his prisoner, 209—invites his son Lycophron to the throne, who, with much persuasion, accepts it, but is killed by the Corcyreans, ii. 211
— his cruelty . . . . . iii. 231
Pericles, his mother being pregnant, dreamed that she brought forth a lion . . . . iii. 407
Perinthians, conquered by the Pæonians, iii. 117—conquered by the Persians under Megabyzus . . iii. 119
Perseus, one of the most ancient heroes in the Grecian mythology, i. 430, n.—no other than the sun, 431, n.—visited Ægypt, for the purpose of carrying from Africa the Gorgon's head . . . . i. 432
— had no mortal father, iii. 314—said by the Persians to be an Assyrian by birth . . . . iii. 314
Persia, its increasing empire . . . i. 80
— disagreement between the Grecian and Asiatic history of,

ii. 229, n.—divided by Darius into provinces, 265—its satrapies, 268—its annual revenue under Darius, ii. 274

Persians, why they considered the Greeks as their public enemies, i. 32—clothed with skins, 116—drank water only, 116—their engagement with the Lydians, 127—haughty, but poor, 141—not certain whether their dialect the same with that of the Medes, 173, n.—certain of the tribes under Cyrus revolt against the Medes, 188—take Astyages prisoner, and destroy the greater part of his army, 191; and thus get possession of Asia, 192—have no statues, temples, nor altars, 193—sacrifice to Jove on mountains, 194—their deities 194—mode of worship, 195; iv. 42, n.—their festivals, i. 196—drink wine profusely, 197—deliberate on the weightiest matters when warm with wine, but re-consider them on the morrow, 197—their salutations, 197—esteem themselves above the rest of mankind, 198—fond of foreign manners, 198—learned a passion for boys from Greece, 199—have a plurality of wives, 199; ii. 236—esteem a man in proportion to the number of his offspring, i. 200—mode of educating their children, 200; ii. 239, n.—put none to death for a single offence, i. 201—will not believe that any one ever killed his parent, 201—abhor falsehood, 201; ii. 239, n.—their opinion of the leprosy, i. 202—are averse to white pigeons, 202—venerate all rivers, 202—all their words, expressive of personal or other distinction, terminate in the Doric san, the same with the Ionian sigma, 203—all their names end alike, 203—antiquity of their union with the Medes, 203, n.—custom of the magi with respect to interment, 204—inclose their dead in wax, and then place them in the ground, 204—get possession of Phocæa, 228—their kings drank no water but that of the Choaspes, 255—some of the Persians are put to the sword by the Massagetæ, 283—attack the Massagetæ in a state of intoxication; slay several, but take the greater part prisoners . . . . . i. 283

— their method of providing themselves with water in the Syrian desarts, ii. 141—softness of their skulls attributed to the use of turbans, 148—hold the sons of sovereigns in the greatest reverence, 153—venerate fire, 155—extinguish fire throughout Persia on the death of the sovereign, 155, n.—their king lives chiefly on bread, 166—their longest period of life, 166—had amongst them a distinction of nobility, 250, n.—paid no tribute to Darius, 275—their native race small and ugly, 276, n.—beauty of their ladies now a constant theme of praise,

276, n.—places of residence of their monarchs after the reduction of Babylon . . ii. 345, n.
— almost always comprehended by Herodotus, and other ancient writers, under the name of Medes, iii. 42, n.; 127, n.—besiege Barce, 111—enter Barce by stratagem, and surrender it to the power of Pheretima, 113—seven Persians sent by Megabyzus, to require of Amyntas earth and water in the name of Darius; which are granted, and they are entertained by Amyntas, 134. 382; but for their indecency towards some Macedonian women, 136, are put to death by a stratagem, 138—their arms and dress, 168; iv. 4—wear their hair long, iii. 168, 276—the treasures of their king deposited at Susa, 170—defeat the Ionians at Ephesus, 243—obtain a complete victory over the Cyprians, 251—defeat the Carians on the banks of the Marsyas, 254—again defeat the Carians, together with the Milesians, 255—fall into an ambuscade of the Carians, and lose a vast number, 255—rout the Ionians, besiege Miletus, and take and plunder it, 275—make themselves masters of Caria, 287—in a battle with Histiæus, take him prisoner, and slay the greater part of his forces, 291—take Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos, and the Ionian cities on the continent, 293—on the death of their prince, his successor remits every debt due to the prince or the public, 323—burn the city of the Naxians, 365—besiege Carystos, which surrenders to them, 368—get possession of Eretria, 370; pillage and burn its temples, and make the people slaves, 371—sail to Attica, and are conducted by Hippias to Marathon, 371—are defeated at Marathon by the Athenians assisted by the Platæans, 387; and retire to Asia, 391—their loss of men in the battle of Marathon, 391—law respecting those who gave advice to the king, 431, n.—march under the command of Xerxes against the Athenians . . . iii. 446
— whence their name, iv. 5—surpass all the rest of Xerxes' army, 16—their aversion to the sea, 25, n.—burying alive, a common custom with them, 43—adoration always paid to their kings, by those admitted to their presence, 60, n.—their band, called Immortal, defeated by the Lacedæmonians, 140—their fleet suffers in a storm near Eubœa, 180—anecdote of a Persian, who founded all his merit on the splendour of his name, 225, n.—swiftness of their messengers, 260—their joy on hearing that Xerxes was master of Athens, 261—their sorrow on hearing of the defeat of Xerxes at Salamis, 261—their station in the army of Mardonius at

Platæa, 340—are dissuaded by Cyrus from removing to a better country . . iv. 425
Person, Philip of Crotona honoured by the Ægestæ for the accomplishments of his . . iii. 165
Pervigilia, observed principally in honour of Ceres and Venus . . . ii. 437, n.
Petalism, a mode of banishment . iv. 241, n.
Phalerum, plundered by the Æginetæ . . iii. 213
—the naval troops of Xerxes arrive at . iv. 226
Phallus, consecration of, i. 371, n.—its use in the sacrifice of Bacchus, taught the Greeks by Melampus . i. 373
Phanes, of Halicarnassus, pursued by order of Amasis, but escapes, ii. 139—his sons put to death in his sight, ii. 146
Pharandates, son of Teaspes, his concubine seeks protection from Pausanias . . . iv. 383
Pharnuches orders the legs of his horse to be cut off . iv. 19
Phayllus fits out a vessel at his private expense, to assist the Greeks at Salamis, iv. 208, n.—thrice victorious at the Pythian games . . iv. 209
Phemius, the most ancient rhapsodist on record . iii. 195, n.
Pheretime, mother of Arcesilaus, on requesting an army of Euelthon, receives a golden spindle, and a distaff with wool, iii. 62—on her son's death, applies to Aryandes to revenge his cause, 64; who delivers all the land and sea forces of Ægypt to her command against the Barceans, 68—crucifies such of the Barceans as had been concerned in the murder of her son, 113—perishes miserably in Ægypt . . . iii. 115
Pheron, king of Ægypt, succeeds his father Sesostris, ii. 16—loses his eyes; and recovers them, 16—burns a number of women, 17—is succeeded by Proteus . ii. 17
Phidippides, Pan appears to, commanding him to reprove the Athenians, iii. 374—arrives at Sparta, on the second day of his departure from Athens . iii. 376
Philip of Crotona, son of Butacides, his adventures, iii. 165—honoured for his accomplishments of person . iii. 165
Philip of Macedon, his method of preventing pride and insolence in himself . . iii. 362, n.
Philitis, pyramids called after . . ii. 52
Philocyprus, prince of Soli, celebrated in verse by Solon, ... iii. 251
Phlius, famous for wine . . iv. 88, n.
Phocæans, the first of the Greeks who made long voyages, i. 225—attacked by Harpagus, desert Phocæa, and proceed to Cyrnus, 228—obtain a Cadmean victory, 229—quit Cyrnus, and retire to Rhegium, 229—build the city Hyela . . . . i. 230

Phoceans, their method to prevent the incursions of the Thessalians in the straits of Thermopylæ, iv. 109—fortitude of their women in an attack by the Thessalians, 191, n. —their stratagems against the Thessalians, 192—in defiance of the Thessalians, refuse to desert the cause of Greece, 193—their country overrun by the army of Xerxes, 195—their valour, on a report that they were about to be put to death by the Persian cavalry iv. 325

Phœnicians, asserted by the Persians to have been the original exciters of contention between the Greeks and Barbarians, i. 27—exported to Argos the produce of Ægypt and Assyria . . . i. 27

— borrowed circumcision from Ægypt, ii. 4—those who are connected with Greece do not use circumcision, 6—refuse to assist Cambyses against the Carthaginians, 159—sent by Necho king of Ægypt, to penetrate the northern ocean, and sail round Africa . ii. 393

— introduced letters in Greece, iii. 181—the Ionians obtain a victory over them off Cyprus, 250—burn the cities of the Byzantians and Chalcedonians, and reduce all the other parts of the Chersonese, except Cardia, 294—arriving off Tenedos, pursue and take a vessel belonging to Miltiades, and conduct his son to Darius, 302—their sagacity in making trenches for the army of Xerxes, 449—with the Ægyptians, have the care of transporting provisions for Xerxes' army, in his expedition to Greece, . . . iii. 451

— supply Xerxes with a number of vessels, iv. 19—of different countries, 20, n.—several executed by order of Xerxes . . . iv. 252

Phœnix, a sacred bird in Ægypt, rarely seen, i. 404—incredible story of its burying its parent . i. 406

Phœnix, the stream . . . iv. 131

Phraortes, king of the Medes, his ambitious views, i. 163—perishes in an excursion against the Assyrians . i. 163

Phronima, daughter of Etearchus, is ill-treated by her stepmother, iii. 53—delivered by her father to Themison, to be thrown into the sea, 53; becomes the concubine of Polymnestus, by whom he has Battus . . iii. 54

Phrygians, esteemed by the Ægyptians more ancient than themselves . . . i. 290

— said to enjoy the greatest abundance of cattle, and of the earth's produce . . iii. 169

— anciently called Bryges, iv. 11—reported to be the oldest of mankind . . . iv. 11, n.

Phrynichus, the poet, fined for representing the capture of Miletus . . . . iii. 281

Indathyrsus, a Scythian prince, his answer to the demand of Darius of earth and water . . . iii. 26
India, Herodotus had a very confined knowledge of, ii. 276, n.—the heat there greatest in the morning, 285—its products . . . . ii. 287
Indians are divided into four principal casts, ii. 108, n.—a most numerous nation, 272—the people of Asia who are nearest the East, 277—manners of their different nations, 277—their method of obtaining gold, ii. 282
— their dress in the army of Xerxes . . iv. 7
Indolence, a life of, the most honourable among the Thracians . . . . . iii. 124
Indostan, the son obliged to practise the profession of his father in . . . . ii. 111, n.
Infant, effects of one smiling in the face of men . iii. 228
Infernal regions, visited by Rhampsinitus, king of Ægypt, ... ii. 34
Inheritance, among the Lycians, descended to the daughters, ... i. 237, n.
— various modes of . . . iii. 419 n.
Inscriptions, many base and servile ones dedicated to the Cæsars and their descendants . . ii. 444, n.
Insects, the Guebres, or ancient fire-worshippers of Persia, deem it meritorious to put all kinds to death . i. 205, n.
Intaphernes, one of the conspirators against the magi, ii. 230—his wife prefers her brother's life to those of her husband and children, 304—with part of his family, put to death by Darius . . . ii. 306
Intelligence, secret, many curious contrivances for conveying, ... iii. 152, n.
— See *Epistles.*
Interment, preceded the custom of burning . ii. 156, n.
Inycus, anciently famous for its wine . . iii. 286, n.
Io, with many other women, taken captive by the Phœnicians to Ægypt, i. 28; this denied by the Phœnicians, ... i. 32.
Iolcos, famous for its poisonous plants . ii. 234, n.
Ion, son of Xuthus, the Ionians named from . iv. 23, 205
Jones, Sir William, extract from his poem on liberty, ... iii. 177, n.
Ionia, purity of its air, and beauty of its situation, *i.* 206—its cities . . . . . i. 207
Ionians, the first among the Greeks who undertook long voyages, i. 27, n.—subdued by Crœsus, 35—those of the islands in alliance with Crœsus, 59—offer allegiance to Cyrus, 205; who rejects it, 206—the appellation disdained by the Athenians, 208—are divided into twelve

states, 210—celebrate the Apaturian festival, 213—send ambassadors to Sparta, 217—are subdued by Harpagus, 231.—neglect the advice of Bias, to erect a city in Sardinia, 232—together with the Æolians are incorporated by Harpagus with his forces . . i. 233
— are rewarded by Psammitichus king of Ægypt, for assisting him, ii. 96—preserved a constant communication between Ægypt and Greece . . ii. 97
— posted by Darius near the Ister to defend a bridge, ii. 452; reject the advice of the Scythians to quit it, iii. 36—considered by the Scythians as the basest of mankind, 40—their calamities at Miletus and Naxos, 145—a republican form of government established amongst, by Aristagoras, 155—possess Sardis, the citadel excepted, 241; but retreat, 242—are defeated by the Persians at Ephesus, and deserted by the Athenians, 243—persevere in their hostilities against Darius, and reduce Byzantium and the neighbouring cities, 244—are joined by the greater part of the Carians and Cyprians, 244—hasten to join Onesilus of Salamis with a numerous fleet against the Persians, 248—obtain a victory over the Phœnicians off Cyprus, 250—on the defeat of Onesilus by the Persians off Cyprus, return with all expedition to Ionia, 252—those who had been engaged in the expedition against Sardis, are attacked by Daurises and other Persian generals, and their towns plundered and divided, 252—assemble with their fleet to defend Miletus against the Persians, 264; but, impatient of discipline, refuse to perform their customary duty, 270—meet the Phœnicians with their fleet, 271—a third time reduced to servitude by the Persians, 293—their districts divided by Artaphernes, 303—Datis the Mede takes them with his army against Eretria . . iii. 365
— appear in the army of Xerxes with a fleet of one hundred ships, iv. 23—so called from Ion, 23, 205—their female slaves celebrated for their accomplishments, 273, n.—revolt from the Persians at Mycale . iv. 408
Josephus, a sentiment of his concerning Antiochus Epiphanes censured . . . . iii. 357, n.
Iphicrates, his reply on being reproached with the meanness of his family . . . . iii. 180, n.
Iphigenia . . . . iii. 6
Irasa, the most beautiful part of Africa, iii. 57—the Greeks not permitted by the Africans to see it . iii. 57
Iron, the art of inlaying, invented by Glaucus of Chios, i. 56
—a metal not used by the Massagetæ . i. 286
Isagoras, son of Tisander, contending with Clisthenes, for su-

periority, divides the Athenian state into factions, iii. 193—overcome by Clisthenes, procures a sentence of expulsion against him and other Athenians . iii. 200
Isis, the first of all the Ægyptian deities, i. 359—her festival in Ægypt, 359. 383—cows sacred to her in Ægypt, 360; iii. 94—her form, i. 360—her festival and temple at Busiris, 383, 384—called in the Greek tongue Demeter or Ceres . . . . i. 383
— Ceres so called by the Ægyptians, ii. 100—her temple at Memphis . . . . ii. 123
— honoured by the Cyrenean women, iii. 94—a memorable story of her priests at Rome . . iii. 334, n.
Island of Chemmis said to float, ii. 99—Cyanean, formerly floated . . . . . ii. 447
Issedones, their customs . . . . . ii. 375
Ister, the river, its course similar to that of the Nile, i. 343—Mr. Gibbon's description of it . i. 343, n.
Isthmus of the Chersonese, its extent . . iii. 298
Judges of England, their independency . ii. 181, n.
Julian, his dying speech contains many sentiments similar to those of Solon in his reply to Crœsus . i. 61, n.
Juno, Cleobis and Bito rewarded for drawing their mother in a chariot to the temple of, i. 63—worshipped in Ægypt . . . . . i. 374, n.
— her temple at Samos . . . . ii. 130
— her temple at Platæa . . iv. 57. 361. 371
Jupiter, invoked by Crœsus, as the deity of expiation, hospitality, and friendship, i. 78—his various epithets and characters, 78, n.; 363, n.—the firmament worshipped under that name by the Persians, 194—worshipped by the Æthiopians, 335—his oracle at Meroë, 336—why represented by the Ægyptians with the head of a ram, 363—an edifice erected to him under the shade of a beech-tree by a Theban priestess, 381—his oracle in Ægypt . . . . . i. 421
Jupiter Ammon, i. 363—his oracle . i. 340. 380
— his temple ordered by Cambyses to be burnt . ii. 171
Jupiter Belus, his temple at Babylon described . i. 246
— the Babylonians fly to his temple . ii. 345
Jupiter, Carian, his temple at Mylassa . i. 234
— sacrificed to by the Alcmæonidæ . . iii. 192
Jupiter, Celestial . . . . iii. 316
Jupiter Forensis . . . . . iii. 165
Jupiter, Grecian . . . . iv. 313
Jupiter Hercæus . . . . iii. 332
Jupiter, Labrandinian . . . iii. 254, n.
Jupiter, Lacedæmonian . . . iii. 315
Jupiter Laphystius . . . iv. 128

Jupiter Liberator . . . . ii. 331
Jupiter, Lycæan . . . . iii. 114
Jupiter Olympus . . . . . i. 298
— his statue erected by the Greeks after the battle of Platæa . . . . . iv. 389
Jupiter Osogus . . . . . i. 234, n.
Jupiter Papæus . . . . . ii. 413
Jupiter Stratius . . . . . iii. 254
Jupiter, Theban, a woman sleeps in his temple, i. 247—his worshippers sacrifice sheep, and abstain from goats, i. 362—his image has the head of a goat . iii. 88
Jupiter Urius . . . . . ii. 447, n.

K.

Kiki, an oil used by the inhabitants of the lower parts of Ægypt . . . . . i. 437
King, immediate access to his person, first forbidden by Deioces, i. 160—his minister called his eye, 177, n.—the great king, the title of the Persian monarchs, i. 254, n. —a title frequently given to the Carthaginian generals, ... iv. 95, n.
Kings of Ægypt, successors of Menes . i. 443; ii. 74.
— of the sacerdotal order . . ii. 70, n.
Kings of Persia, going on any expedition named their successor . . . . . i. 281, n.
Kings of Sparta, their privileges, iii. 315—their honours after death . . . . . iii. 320
— their names . . . . . iv. 290
Kites never migrate from Ægypt . . i. 326
Knees, embracing of them a common act of humility and supplication . . . . . iv. 383, n.
Knights of Sparta, three hundred attend on Themistocles, ... iv. 285
Knots anciently used instead of locks . ii. 311, n.
Korah, a circumstance in the history of, similar to one in a story in Herodotus . . . . i. 85, n.

L.

Labda, daughter of Amphion, history of her and her son Cypselus . . . . . iii. 225
Labynetus, the same with Nebuchadnezzar, i. 121, n.—the last king of Babylon . . . . i. 125, n.
Labynitus, attacked by Cyrus . . . i. 254

Labyrinth, near the lake Mœris, ii. 84—four celebrated ones of antiquity . . . ii. 85, n.
— Cretan, its inventor . . . iv. 102, n.
Lacedæmonians, in alliance with Crœsus, i. 35, 115—obtain good laws through Lycurgus, 105; and after his death erect an edifice to his memory, 108—are defeated by the Tegeans, 109—after the discovery of the body of Orestes are successful, 114—battle between them and the Argives for Thyrea, 129—refuse to assist the Ionians and Æolians, yet threaten Cyrus to resent any injury against the Grecian cities, 218—their reverence to age . . . . . i. 418
— undertake an expedition against Polycrates, ii. 199—their contempt of oratory, 201, n.—attack Samos, but retreat, 211—their form of government . . ii. 257, n.
— permit the Minyæ to reside among them, iii. 44—punish them for intemperance, 44—always inflict capital punishments by night, 44—send an army under Archimolius, to expel the Pisistratidæ from Athens, 188; but without success, 189—in a second attempt under Cleomenes are successful, and deliver the Athenians from oppression, 191—assist Cleomenes in seizing the citadel of Athens, but are foiled, 204—pass a law, forbidding both their kings to march with the army at the same time, 206—propose to their allies the restoration of Hippias to Athens, 222—affirm that they were first introduced into the region they inhabit by Aristodemus, 311—their perplexity concerning the eldest son of Aristodemus, 312—distinguished their princes by many honourable privileges, 315—their ceremonies on the death of a king, 321—debts remitted by the king's successor, 323—their sons follow the professions of their fathers, 323—resolve to assist the Athenians against the Persians at Marathon, but are prevented by an inveterate custom of undertaking no enterprise before the full moon, 376—their advice to the Platæans, 381—two thousand arrive at Athens, and to gratify their curiosity with the sight of the Medes, proceed to Marathon; then return, after congratulating the Athenians on their victory . . . . . iii. 395
— Thomson's animated description of Sparta, iv. 35, n—throw the messengers of Darius into wells, 57—send Sperthies and Bulis to be punished by Xerxes, for the murder of the Persian ambassadors at Sparta, 59; who refuse prostration before Xerxes, and are sent back by him without any punishment, to their own country, 61—their custom before any enterprize of danger to adorn their hair, 138—guard the pass at Thermopylæ with great skill, against the Medes and Persians de-

tached from Xerxes' army, 140—their engagement with the Persians at Thermopylæ, 150—why their soldiers wore a red uniform, 150, n.—are overpowered by the Persians at Thermopylæ, 153—when they had no arms, fought with their nails and teeth, 153, n.—trembler, an established term of reproach with them, 157, n.—remarks on their manners, 159, n.—method by which Demaratus informs them of the intentions of Xerxes against Greece, 168—discourage strangers from visiting Sparta, and when there consider them as spies, 285, n.—the wealthy only possessed horses, 285, n.—gold and silver money not permitted at Lacedæmon, 295, n.—send deputies to the Athenians to oppose their alliance with Xerxes, 300—send a detachment of five thousand men to assist the Athenians against the Persians, 316—obtain five victories by the assistance of Tisamenus as a divine, 346—challenged by Mardonius at the battle of Platæa, 357—to deceive, a distinguishing maxim of their government, 363, n.—victorious at Platæa, 373—bury their dead after the battle of Platæa . . . iv. 393

Lade . . . . . iii. 263

Ladice marries Amasis, king of Ægypt, ii. 127; whose imbecility is removed by her vows to Venus . ii. 128

Laius, son of Labdacus, iii. 185—a shrine built to the furies of him and Œdipus . . . . iii. 47

Lampon, son of Pitheas, his impious counsel to Pausanias, iv. 385

Lamps, feast of, in Ægypt, i. 385—Ægyptians make them in the highest perfection . . i. 386. n.

Lampsacenes make Miltiades their prisoner, iii. 298; but intimidated by the threat of Crœsus release him, iii. 299

Lampsacus, given to Themistocles to furnish him with wine, iii. 36, n.—famous for the birth of several great men, and the residence of Epicurus . . iii. 36, n.

Laodamas, son of Eteocles, gives a tripod to Apollo . iii. 185

Lapithæ, first used bridles and harness for horses, iii. 226, n.

Larissæi, peculiarity of their ground . iv. 308, n.

Lasus, of Hermione, detects Onomacritus introducing a pretended oracle among the verses of Musæus . iii. 424

Latona, oracle of, at Butos . . i. 421; ii. 94

— her temple and shrine at Butos, ii. 97—one of the eight primary divinities, 99—the nurse of Apollo and Diana, ... ii. 100

Leænà, the courtezan, cause of her biting off her tongue, ... iii. 179, n.

Leagrus, son of Glaucon, slain by the Edonians in a contest about some gold mines . . . iv. 382

Ledanum, a gum, ii. 290, n. how gathered by the Arabians, ii. 295

Lemnians, subdued by Otanes, iii. 144—their women destroy their husbands, with Thoas their king, 413—the Grecians called every atrocious crime Lemnian . iii. 413
Lemnos, possessed by Miltiades . . iii. 410
Leocedes, son of Phidon, first instituted the instruments of measuring, in the Peloponnese . . iii. 402
Leon, son of Meles, carried by his father round the walls of Sardis . . . . i. 133
Leonidas, son of Anaxandrides . . . iii. 159
— entrusted by the Greeks with the chief command against Xerxes, iv. 134—his ancestors, 134—how placed on the throne of Sparta, 134—guards the pass at Thermopylæ against detachments from Xerxes' army, 140—consents to the retreat of his allies, and resolves himself to defend his post at Thermopylæ, 147—engages with the Barbarians, 150; and falls, with three hundred of the Spartans, 151—the two brothers of Xerxes fall, in contending for the body of, 151—his bones carried back to Sparta forty years after his death, 152, n.—memorable things concerning him, 159, n—his dead body barbarously treated by Xerxes, 167—satisfaction for his death demanded of Xerxes by the Lacedæmonians, 278—his death revenged on Mardonius . iv. 373
Leontiades, son of Eurymachus, iv. 135—with the greater part of the Thebans under his command, has the royal marks impressed upon him, by command of Xerxes. iv. 158
Lepidotus, a fish venerated by the Ægyptians . i. 403
Leprosy, persons afflicted with, secluded from society by the Persians, i. 202—supposed by the Persians to be inflicted for an offence against the sun . . i. 202
Lesbos, its fame, i. 216, n.—now called Mitylene . i. 216, n.
Letters, introduced by the Phœnicians into Greece, iii. 181—particulars respecting their invention . iii. 181, n.
—. engraved on rocks by Themistocles, iv. 186.—See *Epistles*.
Leviathan of Job, variously understood . i. 398, n.
Levites, derived by Plutarch from Lysios, a name of Bacchus, ... i. 370, n.
Leutychides, son of Menaris, together with Cleomenes, asserts the illegitimacy of Demaratus, king of Sparta, iii. 329—insults Demaratus, after being elected king in his room 332—is banished from Sparta, and his house razed, 338—goes with Cleomenes against Ægina, 339—the Lacedæmonians resolve to deliver him up to the Æginetæ, but are prevented by Theasides, 353—his speech to the Athenians on their refusing to deliver up their hostages, 354—departs from Athens without success . iii. 358

— his descent, iv. 290—sails with the Grecian fleet from Delos towards Samos, 402—sails to Mycale, 404—his stratagem, 404. 406, n.—obtains a victory at Mycale, iv. 407
Libation, ceremony of offering it . . iii. 318, n.
Liberty, poem addressed to, by Sir William Jones, iii. 177, n.—its effects on the Athenians, 210—speech of Sosicles of Corinth in favour of it . . iii. 223
Libraries, eminent collectors of, among the ancients, iii. 296, n.
Libya, whence its name . . . ii. 400
— the part described by Herodotus, now called Barbary, iii. 110, n.—See *Africa*.
Libyans, in the army of Xerxes, iv. 10—See *Africans*.
Lichas, discovers the body of Orestes . . i. 111
Lie, allowed to be told, by Darius, ii. 239—Homer extolled for lying . . . . ii. 239, n.
Life, human, seventy years the term of . . i. 65
— its term in Persia and Æthiopia . . ii. 166
Lightning destroys the palace of Scyles, ii. 441—every thing and place struck by it, was by the ancients deemed sacred . . . . ii. 441, n.
— destroys numbers of Xerxes' troops at the foot of mount Ida . . . . iii. 470
Linen, of Ægypt . . . i. 353, n.
— Colchian, similar to the Ægyptian . . ii. 6
Linus, the first inventor of melody among the Greeks, i. 417, n.—the Grecian song so called . i. 417, and n.
Lions, one of pure gold, placed by Crœsus in the temple at Delphi, i. 86—why a type of an inundation with the Ægyptians, 323, n.—reason of the custom of making the water which proceeds from the roofs of buildings, &c. come through the mouth of a lion . i. 323, n.
— boars their chief food . . . iii. 103, n.
— destroy the camels in the army of Xerxes, in preference to other beasts, iv. 49—prefer the flesh of a Hottentot to that of any other creature, 50, n.—natural history of, where to be found . . . iv. 51, n.
— Lioness produces but one young one in her life, ii. 292; this contradicted . . . ii. 292, n.
Lissus, the streams of, insufficient for the army of Xerxes, in his expedition against Greece . . iv. 39
Littlebury, a mistake of his, in translating Herodotus, iii. 483, n.
Lizards, eaten by the Troglodytæ . . iii, 91
Locke, Mr. his words on dreams . . iii. 442, n.
Locks, anciently supplied by knots . . ii. 311, n.
Locri . . . . iii. 282
Locusts, most probably the food of the Israelites in the desert, and why . . . i. 415, n.

Locusts, how eaten by the Nasamones in Africa . iii. 75
Lodbrog, his ode . . . . ii. 422, n.
London, quantity of cattle annually consumed in, above thirty years ago, iv. 118, n.—number of its inhabitants . . . . . iv. 118, n.
Lotophagi, live entirely on the lotos . iii. 81
Lotos of Ægypt . . . i. 434; iii. 81
Lucan has beautifully described the appearance of the genius of his country to Cæsar, when arrived on the banks of the Rubicon . . . iii. 344, n.
Lucina, offering to, by two Hyperborean virgins. ii. 387
Lucullus, his expenses whenever he supped in his room called the Apollo . . iii. 454, n.
Lycians, so called from Lycus, the son of Pandion, i. 237; iv. 23—take their names from their mothers . i. 237
— furnish Xerxes with fifty ships, iv. 22—their dress in Xerxes' army . . . iv. 22
Lycidas and his family, stoned to death by the Athenians, ... iv. 310, 311
Lycomedes, son of Æschreas . . iv. 179
Lycopas, his valour . . . . ii. 212
Lycophron, son of Periander, banished by his father, ii. 206
—killed by the Corcyreans . . ii. 211
Lycurgus frames laws for the Lacedæmonians, i. 105; who erect an edifice to his memory, 108—some of his laws exceptionable . . i. 105, n.
— remarks on his institutions . . iv. 159, n.
Lycus, son of Pandion . . . i. 237; iv. 23
Lydians, anciently called Meonians, i. 37; iv. 11—resent the murder of Candaules, i. 44—their customs resemble those of the Greeks, 70. 122. 151—privileges assigned to them by the Delphians, 90—war between them and the Medes, 120—hardy and valiant, 127—all their young women prostitute themselves, to procure a marriage-portion, 150—the first people on record, who coined gold and silver into money, 152—invented bowls and dice, 154—their resource against a famine, 154—part of them change their name for that of Tyrrhenians, 155—revolt against Cyrus, 218—their manners totally changed by certain observances enforced among them by Cyrus, in consequence of their revolt, 221—their origin . . . . i. 234
— said to possess a fertile territory and a profusion of silver, ... iii. 169
— in the army of Xerxes . . . . iv. 11

M.

Macæ, their customs . . . iii. 81
Macedonians, earth and water granted by them to Darius, iii. 134—part of them reduced by Mardonius iii. 306
Machlyes feed on the lotos . . iii. 82
Madness, frequently considered by the ancients as annexed by the gods to more atrocious acts . iii. 342, n.
Mæander, its fountains . . iii. 452
Mæandrius, son of Mæandrius, possessed of the supreme authority at Samos, ii. 330—quits Samos on the arrival of the Persians, and sails to Lacedæmon, 335—receives a public order to depart from Lacedæmon . ii. 336
Mæotis, Palus, called the mother of the Euxine . ii. 450
Magi, crucified by Astyages, i. 191—condemned to die when unable to interpret dreams, 191, n.—Persian . i. 205
— two brothers excite a revolt against Cambyses, ii. 221—whence so called, 235, n.—some account of them, 247, n.—their presents to Christ indicated their esteeming him a royal child, 248, n.—great numbers slain by the Persians . . . . ii. 249
— appease a storm on the coast of Magnesia . iv. 123
Magic, derivation of the word . . ii. 249, n.
Magnesia, the fleet of Xerxes stationed on its coast iv. 119
Mahomet, camels consecrated to . ii. 284, n.
Man, not to be called happy, till we know the nature of his death . . . . . i. 67
Mandane, daughter of Astyages, her dream, i. 171—married to Cambyses . . . . i. 171
Mandrocles, the Samian, constructs a bridge over the Bosphorus, highly approved by Darius . ii. 451
Maneros, an Ægyptian song . . i. 418
Mantineans, their conduct after the battle of Platæa iv. 384
Marathon, seized by Pisistratus . . i. 100
— the Persian army conducted thither by Hippias, iii. 371—the Athenians arrive there, conducted by ten leaders, 371—manner of drawing up the Athenian army for battle there, 385—the battle of, described, 386—the battle of, represented in the portico at Athens, called Pœcile, 391, n.—Epizelus struck with blindness at the batile of . . . . . iii. 392
Marble, artificially stained, amongst the ruins of the higher Ægypt, ii. 129, n.—of Paros, of inimitable whiteness, ... ii. 216, n.
— of Paros, always preferred by the more eminent sculptors of antiquity . . . . iii. 188, n.
Mardonius, son of Gobryas, sent by Darius to Ionia, to supersede his other commanders, every where establishes a

democracy in Ionia, iii. 305—proceeds with a numerous fleet and army towards Eretria and Athens, and subdues the Thasians and Macedonians, 305—loses a considerable number of his vessels and men in a storm, 306—is wounded by the Brygi, but reduces them, 306—his return to Asia inglorious, 307—is removed from his command by Darius, 363—his advice to Xerxes respecting the Ægyptian and Athenian wars, 422—is supposed to have deceived Xerxes and Artabanus by a pretended vision . . . iii. 443, n.

— a general in Xerxes' army, iv. 15—his advice to Xerxes after the battle of Salamis, 262—accompanies Xerxes in his retreat to Thessaly, 276; and there selects three hundred thousand men from the land forces, 277—is joined by Artabazus, 288—sends Mys to consult the different oracles, 291; and in consequence of their declarations, sends Alexander ambassador to the Athenians, to procure an alliance, 293; who reject his offers, 303—marches towards Athens, 308—is received by the Thebans, 308—takes possession of Athens a second time, 310—withdraws his army from Athens, having first set fire to it, 320—is entertained, with fifty Persians, by Attaginus, at Thebes, 322—marches with his army to Platæa, 340—sacrifices according to the Grecian rites 347—rejects the advice of Artabazus, and resolves on a battle with the Greeks, 350—challenges the Spartans, 357—is slain at Platæa, 373—his body interred iv. 391

Mares, their milk drunk by the Scythians . ii. 351

— those interred, which had obtained prizes at the Olympic games . . . . . iii. 373

Mariandinians, inventors of the shrill pipe used at funerals, ... i. 59, n.

Marius Caius, impression made by him on a soldier sent to kill him in prison . . . ii. 245, n.

Marriage, political, betwixt those of royal blood, i. 122, n.—of Alexander and some of his generals to Persian ladies, form of, 199, n.—law respecting, in Assyria . i. 268

— between brother and sister, ii. 180, n.—of Cambyses with his sisters . . . ii. 182

— the Adyrmachidæ, in Africa, presented their daughters to the king just before their marriage, who might enjoy their persons, iii. 70—ceremony with the Algerines, 75, n.—among the Nasamones, in Africa, the bride, on the first night after her marriage, permits every one of the guests to enjoy her person, 76—the only ceremony in marriage observed by the Algerines . iii. 77, n.

Mars, festival in honour of, how observed in Ægypt, i. 386—his oracle in Ægypt i. 421

— the only deity to whom the Scythians erect altars, shrines, and temples, ii. 414—ceremonies observed by the Scythians in the worship of him . . . ii. 416
— worshipped in Thrace . . . iii. 124
— his hill at Athens, iv. 212—supposed to have been represented by the Scythians under the form of a sword, 422, n.
—savage worship paid to, by the Cilicians, iv. 422, n.
Marsyas, his punishment, an allegory . iii. 452, n.
Mascamis, son of Megadostis, appointed by Xerxes governor of Doriscus, iv. 37—in return for his bravery, he and all his descendants received presents from the kings of Persia . . . . iv. 37
Masistes, son of Darius, insults Artayntes, and narrowly escapes his resentment, iv. 411—cruelty of Amestris towards his wife, 416—flies to Bactra, with intention of exciting that province to revolt from Xerxes, 417—is intercepted in his way to Bactra by Xerxes, and put to death, together with his children and followers iv. 418
Masistius, sent by Mardonius with his cavalry against the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, iv. 328—is killed by the Athenians, 329—his body contended for, 330—the Persians mourn for him . . . iv. 331
Mason, Mr. his excellent use of the supposed sanctity of the groves at Mona . . iii. 347, n.
Massagetæ, Cyrus meditates an attack against, i. 277—in a state of drunkenness are overcome by Cyrus, 283; but are at length victorious, 285—their manners . i. 286
Maxyes suffer their hair to grow on the right side of the head, and not on the left, and stain their bodies with vermilion . . . . iii. 98
Mead, Dr. his treatise on the influence of the sun and moon on the human body . . ii. 394, n.
Measures of land, different ones used by the ancients, i. 297, n.
— of the Arabians, few accounts of them to be trusted to, ... ii. 113, n.
Measuring, instruments of, first instituted in the Peloponnese by Leocedes, son of Phidon . . iii. 402
Mechanics, considered, even among nations the least refined, in the lowest rank of citizens, except by the Corinthians, ... ii. 112
Medea, forcibly carried away by the Greeks . i. 29
— her process of boiling, to make men young again, ... ii. 434, n.
— on her arriving among the Arii, they took the name of Medes . . . . . iv. 5
Medes, at war with the Lydians, i. 120—revolt from the Assyrian government, 156—choose Deioces their king, 158—build Ecbatana, 158—in a battle with the Scy-

thians lose the empire of Asia, 165—at a feast, cut off the greater part of the Scythians in a state of intoxication, and recover their possessions, 169—take Nineveh, and subdue the Assyrians, 169—doubtful whether their dialect the same with that of the Persians, 173, n.—vanquished by the Persians, 192—take up arms against Darius, but without success, 192—antiquity of their union with the Persians . i. 203, n.
— the Persians comprehended under the name of Medes, by Herodotus and most of the ancient writers, iii. 42, n. 127, n.
— formerly called Arii, iv. 5—endeavouring to gain the pass at Thermopylæ, are repulsed by the Lacedæmonians with great loss . . iv. 140
Median vest, invented by Semiramis . iv. 44, n.
Medicine, opinion of its origin, i. 270, n.—how exercised in Ægypt, 422—none of the sciences sooner arrived at perfection . . . . i. 422, n.
Medusa, the chief of the Gorgons, her story . i. 432, n.
Megabyzus, one of the seven conspirators against the magi, ii. 236—his speech in favour of an oligarchy . ii. 252
— highly esteemed by Darius, iii. 41—reduces in the Hellespont all who are in opposition to the Medes, 42—conquers the Perinthians, 119—by order of Darius, leads his army into Pæonia, and transports the Pæonians from Europe into Asia, 131—sends seven of his army into Macedonia, to require of Amyntas earth and water, 134—arrives with the Pæonians at Sardis, 141—his advice to Darius respecting Histiæus . . iii. 141
Megacles, son of Alcmæon, at the head of a faction, expels Pisistratus from Athens, i. 94—marries the daughter of Pisistratus . . . i. 97
— marries the daughter of Clisthenes . iii. 406
Megacreon of Abdera, his witty remark on the excessive expense the Abderites sustained in entertaining Xerxes and his army . . . iv. 46
Megara, in Achaia, ravaged by the Persian army . iv. 321
Megara, in Sicily, the people of, how treated by Gelon, iv. 86
Megistias, the soothsayer, his prediction of death to the Greeks stationed in the straits of Thermopylæ, iv. 146—is dismissed by Leonidas at Thermopylæ, but refuses to depart, 149—inscription on his tomb . iv. 155
Melampus, son of Amytheon, first taught the Greeks the name and sacrifice of Bacchus . . i. 373
— is invited by the Argives to cure a madness among their women, iv. 344—obtains half the kingdom of the Argives for himself, and a third part for his brother . . iv. 345
Melampygi, story of them and Hercules . iv. 144, n.

Melanchlæni have all black garments, and feed on human flesh . . . . . iii. 8.
Melanippus, his relics brought to Sicyon, iii. 196; and sacrifices and festivals assigned to him . iii. 197
Melissa, wife of Periander, put to death by her husband, ... ii. 205
— on her account, Periander strips all the Athenian women of their clothes . . . . . iii. 232
Membliares, different accounts of his descent . iii. 46, n.
Memnon, Susa the city of . . . . iii. 176
Memory, the Ægyptians attentive to the improvement of, i. 410—local, invented by Simonides, 410, n.—the faculty of, more valued in ancient times than at present . . . . . i. 410, n.
Memphis, pyramids of, i. 299—the ground on which it stands, detached from the water by Menes, 441—different opinions of its site, 441, n.—all doubts respecting its situation removed by the investigation of Major Rennell, 442, n.—built by Menes . . i. 443
Men, degeneracy of their race . . i. 112, n.
Mendesians preserve goats, and sacrifice sheep, i. 362, 368
Men-eaters . . . . . ii. 370
Menelaus, assisted by the Greeks to recover Helen, ii. 25—after the capture of Troy, arrives in Ægypt, where Helen is restored to him, 26—sacrifices two Ægyptian children . . . . . ii. 26
Menes, the first king of Ægypt, i. 294—this contradicted by Bishop Clayton, 441, n.—diverted the Nile, 442—built Memphis . . . . i. 443
Mercury, whence the Grecian figure of . i. 375
— his temple at Bubastis, ii. 67—Ægyptian, named Thoth; the inventor of sciences . . ii. 68, n.
— worshipped by the princes of the Thracians, who call themselves his descendants . . iii. 124
Mermnadæ, the family of Crœsus, i. 36—exclude the Heraclidæ from the empire of Lydia . i. 45
Meroe, various opinions of . . i. 335, n.
Mesambria, built by the Byzantians and Chalcedonians, ... iii. 294
Messages, curious contrivances for secretly conveying, ... iii. 152, n.
Messana, formerly Zancle . . iv. 94
Messengers, swiftness of the Persian . iv. 259
Metempsychosis, believed by the Ægyptians, ii. 37—adopted by some of the Greeks . . . ii. 38
Metiochus, son of Miltiades, son of Cimon, is taken captive and conducted to Darius, who shews him the greatest kindness . . . . iii. 303

Mice, Sethos delivered from the Arabians by them . ii. 72
— three species of, in Africa . . iii. 103
Midas, son of Gordius, consecrates his throne to the oracle at Delphi . . . . i. 47
— his gardens . . . . iv. 297
Milesians, Alyattes resumed his father's war against, i. 48; account of that war, 49; and its termination, 52—court the friendship of Cyrus . . i. 207
— their factions terminated by the interposition of the Parians, iii. 145—revolt against Darius, 155—assist the Carians, 255—their city besieged and taken by the Persians, 275—the greater part of them slain, 276; and the remainder carried to Susa, 277—their grief at the capture of Sybaris . . . iii. 277
Miletus, the pride of Ionia, iii. 145—besieged and taken by the Persians, 275—its wool celebrated . iii. 280, n.
Milk of mares, the customary drink of the Scythians, ii. 351
Millet grows to an immense height in Babylonia . i. 261
Milo, of Crotona, his incredible strength and appetite, ... iii. 401, n.
Miltiades, son of Cypselus, iii. 35—origination of his sovereignty over the Chersonese, 294—is made prisoner by the people of Lampsacum, 298; but by the menaces of Crœsus is dismissed, 299—on his death is honoured by the inhabitants of the Chersonese . iii. 299
Miltiades, son of Cimon, by stratagem secures the possession of the Chersonese, iii. 301—flies from the power of the Scythians, 302—is restored by the Dolonci, 302—informed of the rival of the Phœnicians off Tenedos, sails for Athens, 302—escapes to Imbros, 302—proceeds to Athens, 303—one of the ten Athenian leaders against the Persians at Marathon, 371—escapes from two incidents, which threatened his life, 373—his speech to the polemarch in favour of an engagement with the Persians, which has its effect, 383; and the Athenians are successful, 387—his reputation increased at Athens, after the defeat of the Persians at Marathon, 407—sails with seventy ships to Paros, 407—the cause of his resentment against the Parians, 408—besieges Paros, 408; but returns home without success, 409—is generally censured by his countrymen, and capitally accused to the Athenians; but by the interference of the people, his life is saved on payment of a fine, 410—dies of a wound received at Paros, 410—his manner of possessing Lemnos . . . . iii. 410
Milton, the idea of his Pandemonium whence probably suggested . . . . iii. 263, n.

Mind, its powers increase and improve with those of the body, ... ii. 323
Mine, on the brink of the Prasian lake, produced Alexander a talent a day . . . . iii. 134
Minerva, her priestess said to have a prodigious beard previously to any calamity among the Pedasians, i. 240; iv. 266—her solemnities at Saïs, i. 383—her oracle in Ægypt, ... i. 421
— her magnificent portico built by Amasis at Saïs, ii. 121—her statue at Cyrene, 128—her temple at Lindus, ii. 129
—festival of the Ausenses in honour of, iii. 85—the daughter of Neptune, and adopted by Jupiter, 86—the vest and ægis decorating her shrine, borrowed by the Greeks from the Africans, 96—origin of the loud cries in her temple, 97—the panathenæa in honour of, 180—her shrine at Athens, 201—her temple at Sigeum . iii. 236
Minerva, Alean, her temple at Tegea . i. 110
Minerva, Assesian, her temple destroyed . i. 50
Minerva Crastian, her temple built by Dorieus . iii. 163
Minerva Pœonia . . . iii. 117, n.
Minerva Pallenian, her temple . . i. 101
Minerva Polias . . . iii. 214
Minerva Poliouchos . . . i. 224, n.
Minerva, Pronean . . . i. 147
— her temple at Delphi . . iv. 199
Minerva Sciras, her temple . . iv. 256
Minerva, Trojan, Xerxes sacrifices one thousand oxen to, iii. 470
Miniature, works in, executed by the ancients, never equalled by the moderns . . ii. 196, n.
Minos formed the design of making himself master of the sea, ... ii. 309
— account of, iv. 99, n.; 101, n.—said to perish by a violent death . . . . iv. 101
Minyæ, permitted by the Lacedæmonians to reside with them, iii. 44—punished by them, 44—escape by a stratagem, and take refuge on Taygetus . iii. 45
Mithra, Venus so called by the Persians . i. 195
Mitridates preserves Cyrus . . . i. 177
Mitrobates, governor of Dascylium, reproaches Orœtes, ii. 307; for which he and his son are put to death by Orœtes . . . ii. 314
Mnesiphilus, his advice to Themistocles against the Grecian fleet's leaving Salamis . . . iv. 217
Moderns have never equalled the ancients in engraving on precious stones, nor in any works of miniature, ii. 196, n.
Mœris, king of Ægypt, various monuments of him, i. 444—erected pyramids . . . . i. 444

Phya, a Pæanican woman, near four cubits high, in the character of Minerva, introduces Pisistratus into Athens i. 98
Phylacus, a hero of Delphi . . iv. 201
Phylacus, son of Histiæus, rewarded by Xerxes . iv. 247
Physicians, in Ægypt, are confined to the study and management of one disease . . . i. 422
— anciently hired for a whole city by the year, ii. 320, n.—fees of the ancient, for single incidental visits, very inconsiderable, 320, n.—of Crotona most eminent, 321—of Cyrene, most eminent, next to those of Crotona, 321—Ægyptian, condemned to the cross by Darius, but pardoned through the intercession of Democedes ii. 321
Pierre, Eustace de St. his gallant behaviour at the siege of Calais, by Edward III. . iv. 394, n.
Pigeons, the Persians have an aversion to white ones i. 202
Pigmies, a race of, in Africa . . i. 341
Pillar, erected by Crœsus, to define the boundaries of Phrygia and Lydia . . iii. 455
Pillars erected for various uses in earlier ages . iii. 272, n.
Pindar, quoted by Herodotus . ii. 190
Pines, to destroy like, a proverb denoting a final destruction, ... iii. 298
Pipers from Ægium esteemed . iv. 88, n.
Piræus, the most celebrated port of the Athenians, iv. 247, n.
Piromis, colossal figures at Thebes, so called . ii. 77
Pisistratidæ repel the Lacedæmonians, iii. 189; but in a second engagement are compelled by them to retire from Athens, 191—use unremitting endeavours to criminate the Athenians, 363—persuade Xerxes to invade Greece, ... iii. 424
Pisistratus, son of Hippocrates, i. 93—by stratagem obtains the supreme power at Athens, 94—is expelled from Athens, but restored, 97—marries the daughter of Megacles, 99—flies to Eretria, 99—with assistance seizes on Marathon, 100—his moderation, 100, n.—a third time master of Athens, 103—the first collector of Homer's works, 103, n.—purifies Delos . i. 104
— famous for collecting books, iii. 296, n.—his reproof to the idle . . . iii. 372, n.
Pit of punishment, the Athenians threw the people of Darius into . . . . iv. 56
Pitane, the name has afforded exercise for much criticism, ... ii. 212, n.
Pitch drawn from the bottom of the water at Zacynthus, ... iii. 106
Pittacus of Mitylene, a memorable saying of . i. 58
Plague, caused by the vapours in Ægypt, i. 410, n.—not

mentioned by Herodotus, when speaking of Ægypt . . . . . i. 412, n.
Plane-tree, of gold, presented by Pythius to Darius, iii. 453 —a beautiful one in Lydia, ordered by Xerxes to be adorned with chains of gold, and the guard of it assigned to one of the immortal band . iii. 456
Platæa, city of, burnt by the forces of Xerxes, iv. 210—Greeks arrive at, 332—battle of . iv. 371
Platæa, island of, a colony sent there by the Thereans, iii. 50; another account of this, 53—different ways of writing the name . . . . iii. 55. n.
Platæans join the Athenians at Marathon, in return for former assistance against the Thebans, iii. 380—limits determined between them and the Thebans . iii. 382
Pledge, the Nasamones pledge their word, by drinking alternately from each other's hands, iii. 77—the only ceremony observed in the marriages of the Algerines, is by drinking from each other's hands . iii. 77, n.
Pleistorus, the god of the Apsinthians . iv. 421
Pliny, the elder, his mistake of the words of Herodotus, ... ii. 294, n.
— his mistake respecting the Troglodytæ . iii. 91, n.
Plutarch, his essay against Herodotus, i. 31, n.—motives of his malignity against Herodotus explained . i. 31, n.
— a passage in, amended . . . ii. 381, n.
— instance of the weakness of his tract against Herodotus, in point of argument, iii. 239, n.—instance of his malignity against Herodotus respecting the battle of Marathon . . . . . iii. 377, n.
Pole, received by the Greeks from the Babylonians . ii. 13
Polemarch, his office . iii. 383, n.; iv. 106, n.
Polyænus, his Stratagemata, a book not so well known as it deserves . . . . i. 51, n.
— recommended to young students in Greek . iii. 33, n.
Polycrates, son of Æaces, at war with the Lacedæmonians, ii. 191—his prosperity, 193—follows the advice of Amasis, and casts into the sea a most valuable seal-ring, 196; recovers it, and thus loses the alliance of Amasis, 198—the Lacedæmonians undertake an expedition against, 199—compels the Lacedæmonians to retreat from the siege of Samos, 211—an artifice used by him, 214—his death contrived by Orœtes, 306—his daughter's vision previous to his death, 311—is put to a miserable death . . . . . ii. 313
— famous for collecting books . iii. 296, n.
Polydamus encounters three Persians at once, and slays them all . . . . iv. 34, n.

Polygamy, argument against it, i. 434, n.—its ill effects visible among the Turks . . i. 434, n.
Pomegranate, its figure worn by the ancient Persians on their walking-sticks and sceptres . i. 266, n.
Porus, stone of . . . . iii. 188
Posidonius, distinguished himself at the battle of Platæa, ... iv. 379
Posts, regularity and swiftness of the Roman . . iv. 260, n.
Potidæa besieged by Artabazus . iv. 287
Prasians, their habitations and manners . iii. 133
Prasis, the lake, a mine on its banks produced Alexander a talent a day . . . . iii. 134
Prexaspes, his son killed in his sight by Crœsus, ii. 186—after a confession of having killed Smerdis, kills himself, ii. 243
Priest, Jewish high, a singularity attending his office, i. 349, n.—those of the Nile . . i. 429
— every high priest in Ægypt places in a temple a wooden figure of himself, ii. 76—and soldier, the only ranks honourably distinguished in Ægypt . ii. 112
— and king, anciently united in the same person, by the Spartans . . . iii. 315
Priestesses of Dodona . . . i. 380
Princes of the East, their lofty titles . i. 254, n.
Princes of the Spartans, distinguished by many honourable privileges . . . iii. 315
Principles, two, a good and a bad, held by the magi, ii. 247, n.
Prisoners of war, treatment of . ii. 192, n.
Procles, how discovered by the Lacedæmonians to be the youngest son of Aristodemus, iii. 312—at variance with his brother through life . . iii. 313
Prodigies, collection of, by Julius Obsequens . i. 125, n.
— one of thunder in favour of Darius . ii. 261
— generally precede the calamities of any city or nation, iii. 288—before the defeat of the Chians by Histiæus, 290—one of a tremulous motion at Delos . iii. 366
— one at the temple of Delphi, on the approach of Xerxes' army . . . . iv. 199
Professions of fathers followed by their sons, among the Lacedæmonians, as in Ægypt . iii. 323
Propontis, its breadth and length . ii. 448
Proserpine, called Auxesia . . . iii. 213, n.
— Athenian rites in honour of . . iv. 225
Protesilaus, his temple in Elæos . iii. 457
— his wealth fraudulently taken from Elæos, and his tomb stript by Artayctes . . . iv. 419
Proteus, king of Ægypt, succeeds Pheron, ii. 17—the same with Osiris and Canobus, 17, n.—no antique figure of

him, 18, n.—detains Helen, 22—restores Helen to Menelaus, 26—is succeeded by Rhampsinitus . ii. 28
Proverbs, the meaning of many English ones, to be discovered in the customs and languages of Greece and Rome . . . . iii. 260, n.
Proxeni, their office . . . iii. 319, n.
Prytanes of the Naucrari, their office . iii. 202, n.
Prytaneum of Athens, i. 212—of several places. i. 212, n.
—its derivation . . . . iv. 129, n.
Psammenitus, son of Amasis, and king of Ægypt, ii. 145—a prodigy during his reign, 145—trial of his disposition when taken captive by Cambyses, 150—lives with Cambyses, 153; but revolts against him, and is put to death ii. 154
Psammis, king of Ægypt, succeeds his father, ii. 104—is succeeded by his son Apries . ii. 105
Psammitichus, king of Ægypt, prevails on the Scythians to retire from Ægypt, i. 165—his mode of discovering who were the most ancient people, 290—said to have ascertained the sources of the Nile . . i. 333
— pours a libation from his helmet, ii. 93; in consequence of which he is deprived of a considerable part of his power by the other eleven kings of Ægypt, and confined to the marshes, 94—consults the oracle of Latona, 94—with the assistance of some Ionians and Carians, vanquishes the eleven kings, 96—builds the vestibule of the temple of Vulcan, at Memphis, and an edifice for Apis, 96—rewards the Ionians and Carians, 96—spends twenty-nine years in the siege of Azotus, 100—is succeeded by his son Necos . . ii. 101
Psylli, their expedition against the south-wind, iii. 78—celebrated for managing serpents . . iii. 78, n.
Pteria, battle of . . . . i. 124
Punishment by death never inflicted by the Persians for a single offence, i. 201—severe, in what cases allowed by the Persians . . . . i. 201
— by death, not allowed by Sabacus in Ægypt, during his reign of fifty years . . . ii. 66
— capital, always inflicted by the Lacedæmonians by night, ... iii. 45
— Athenian pit of . . . . iv. 56
Purple, Pythernus habited in, to get a greater number of Spartans together, i. 217—particularly affected by women . . . . i. 217, n.
— of the ancients . . ii. 165, n.; iv. 267, n.
Pygargi, probably quadrupeds . . iii. 101, n.
Pyramids of Memphis, i. 299—on the side of Ægypt, towards Libya, 300—of Ægypt, injured by an acrid matter ex-

uding from the soil, 309—erected by Mœris, 444—the different uses for which they are supposed to have been erected, 444, n.; ii. 41, n.—their present state, according to Sir Robert Wilson . . i. 447
— considered by Voltaire as a proof of the slavery of the Ægyptians, ii. 39, n.—the stones supposed by Dr. Shaw not to have been brought from Arabia, 40, n.—the great one built by Cheops, a work of twenty years, 45; its dimensions, 45, n.; mode of its construction, 46; was coated, 48, n.; its cost, 49; their original design supposed by Dr. Shaw never to have been completed, 46, n.—one of them constructed by means of the prostitution of Cheops' daughter, 49—one built by Chephren, 50—not the sepulchres of Cheops and Chephren, for whom they were designed, 50, n.—one built by Mycerinus, 58—one of brick built by Asychis, 64—in the lake Mœris, 89—the French accounts of their modern condition . . . . ii. 131, n.
Pythagoras, of Samos . i. 420, n.; ii. 457
— said to have introduced weights and measures into Greece, ... iii. 402, n.
Pythagoras, governor of Miletus . iii. 257
Pythes, son of Ischenous, greatly distinguishes himself, iv. 112—preserved by the Persians for his valour, and restored safe to his country . . iv. 112. 254
Pythian. See *Delphi.*
Pythii, their office . . . iii. 319
Pythius, son of Atys, entertains Xerxes and his army with great magnificence, and engages to supply him with money for the Athenian war, iii. 452—gives Darius a plane-tree, and a vine of gold, 453—in return for his liberality, is presented by Xerxes with seven thousand gold staters, 455—requests of Xerxes to dispense with the presence of his eldest son in his Grecian expedition, 465—the body of his eldest son is, by order of Xerxes, divided in two . . . iii. 467

Q.

Quail-fighting among the ancients . i. 72, n.
Quails of Ægypt, a great delicacy . i. 415, n.

R.

Rabbi, meaning of that word, when used by an inferior to a person above him . . iii. 423, n.

Race, of torches, Athenian, in honour of Pan, iii. 375—in honour of various deities . iii. 375, n.
Rain, lands in Ægypt never fertilized by, i. 312—falls but seldom in some parts of Ægypt, 312, n.—unknown in Æthiopia, 326; this contradicted . i. 326, n.
— at the Ægyptian Thebes, a prodigy . ii. 145
— none for seven years in Thera, iii. 50—never falls in some parts of Africa . . . . iii. 93
Red Sea, what, i. 245, n.; ii. 391, n.—often confounded with the Erythrean Sea . . . i. 306, n.
Relaxation, necessity of . . ii. 120
Religion, the ancients remarkably scrupulous in every thing which regarded . . i. 389, n.
— without it the conduct always irregular . ii. 198, n.
— of the Pagans, how best explained . iv. 164, n.
Remember, a word memorable in English history . iii. 363, n.
Rennell, Major, his improved geography of Asia Minor, i. 34, n.—his work on Herodotus quoted, 92, n.—his account of Babylon . . i. 243, n.
— his remark on the Persians in the army of Xerxes, iv. 3, n.
Reptiles, eaten by the Troglodytæ . iii. 91
Republic, arguments in favour of . ii 250
Resurrection, the phœnix a type of . i. 404, n.
Reverence, paid by the Ægyptians to age, i. 418—rising from the seat seems to be a prevailing mark of reverence every where . . i. 418, n.
Reward of merit, an ancient mode of . ii. 356, n.
Rhadinace, an oil collected by the Persians at Ardaricca, ... iii. 394
Rhampsinitus, king of Ægypt, succeeds Proteus, ii. 28—constructs an edifice for his riches, 28—remarkable story of two thieves who privately entered his treasury, 29—descended alive beneath the earth, 34—plays at dice with Ceres, 34—is succeeded by Cheops . ii. 39
Rhapsodists, etymology of the word, iii. 194, n.—some account of . . . iii. 195, n.
Rhegium, whence its name . . iii. 284, n.
Rhodes, some account of . . iv. 81, n.
Rhodopis, the courtezan, ii. 59—Strabo's account of, ii. 59, n.
Rhœcus, son of Phileus, a skilful architect . ii. 221
Riches of individuals in more ancient times . iii. 453, n.
Richardson, Mr. wants judgment in his account of the Persian history . . . . ii. 230, n.
— dreams about the dignity of the Persian monarchs, ... iv. 3, n.
Ring, seal, worn by the Babylonians . i. 266
— worn by Polycrates . . ii. 195
Rivers, all venerated by the Persians, i. 202—their vene-

ration seems to have been almost universal; and still appears to continue among unenlightened nations, 203, n. —a young woman annually sacrificed to the divinities of the Nile and the Niger . . i. 328, n.
Rizzio, David, manner of his death . ii. 246, n.
Robes, the ancient custom in oriental countries of giving them as a mark of distinction, still prevails . ii. 258, n.
Romans, less tenacious of their national dignity than the Grecks, i. 25, n.—a portion of Lacedæmonian manners communicated to them, 106, n.—learned their games and combats from the Tyrrhenians, or Etruscans, 155, n. —for seventy years had no statue or painting of the deity in their temples, 193, n.—carried the art of embalming to greater perfection than the Ægyptians, i. 424, n.
— their emperors had fire carried before them . ii. 156, n.
— their method of disposing their army . iii. 430, n.
— the art of swimming, a material part of their education, iv. 251, n.—the emperors obtained reputation from the success of their lieutenants . iv. 265, n.
Romulus, story of him and Remus being nourished by a wolf, similar to that of Cyrus . i. 186, n.
Rosamond, queen of the Lombards, her story resembles that of Candaules . . . . i. 37, n.
Rose, a species of, in Macedonia, having sixty leaves, iv. 297
Running to attack an enemy, practised by the Greeks first at the battle of Marathon . . iii. 386

S.

Sabacus, king of Æthiopia, master of Ægypt fifty years, ii. 66 —did not punish any crime with death, 66—in consequence of a vision, withdrew himself from Ægypt, ii. 69
Sacrifices, human, one by Menelaus . ii. 26
— public, by the Athenians every five years . iii. 385
— Persian mode of . . . iv. 42, n.
Sadder, the Persian . . . . i. 205, n.
Sadyattes . . . . i. 47
Sagartii, their manner of engaging an enemy . iv. 16
Sais, buildings at . . . ii. 115
Sailors, British, anecdote of James II. particularly characteristic of their spirit . . iv. 281, n.
Salamis, stratagem employed by Solon for obtaining possession of . . . . i. 95, n.
— the Grecian fleet anchors at, iv. 202—its fertility, 245, n. —sea-fight at, between the Greeks and Persians, iv. 246
Salt, why called divine by Homer . i 385, n.
— pillars of, in Africa, iii. 87—a hill of, 89, 90, 91, 92—of

the same use as money in Abyssinia, 89, n.—houses formed of it, 93—two sorts, white and purple . iii. 93
Salutation, Persian mode of . . . . i. 197
Samians, expelled by Polycrates, built Cydon, in Crete, ii. 199—obtain assistance from the Lacedæmonians against Polycrates, 201—protect three hundred children of the Corcyreans, 203—forsaken by the Lacedæmonians, embark for Siphnos, 216—defeat the Siphnians, 218—are totally vanquished by the Cretans and Æginetæ, 219—produced the greatest monuments of art in Greece, 219—put to the sword by Otanes, 335—taken by the Persians . . . . . ii. 336
— erect a column to commemorate an act of valour of their officers, iii. 272—possess themselves of Zancle, 285—spare the lives of three hundred Zancleans . iii. 286
Samos, forcibly possessed by Polycrates, ii. 191—expedition of the Lacedæmonians against it, 202; and of the Corinthians, 203—its cakes, 204, n.—besieged by the Lacedæmonians, 211—taken by Darius, 329—given by him to Syloson, 330—delivered to Syloson almost without an inhabitant . . . . ii. 336
Sampson, supposed to be the Hercules of Tyre . iv. 228, n.
Sand, mountain of, destroys the Persian army marching against the Ammonians . . ii. 174
Sandals, provided by Anthilla in Ægypt for the queens, i. 440
Sappho, her manners reported dissolute by those only who lived a long time after her . i. 216, n.
Sardanapalus, his treasures possessed by robbers . ii. 91
Sardanis, his memorable speech to Crœsus . i. 116
Sardis, i. 36—possessed by the Cimmerians, 47—becomes the resort of the great and affluent, as well as those celebrated for their wisdom, 59—battle between Cyrus and Crœsus near it, 127—taken by Cyrus, 132—taken by Antiochus, 133, n.—entrusted by Cyrus in his absence to Tabalus, 218; who is besieged in the citadel by Pactyas . . . . . i. 219
— its distance from Susa, iii. 175—its distance from Ephesus, 177—except the citadel, possessed by the Ionians, and accidentally burnt, 241—Xerxes arrives there with his army against the Athenians . iii. 456
Sardinia, reputed remarkably unhealthy, ii. 7, n.—gave rise to many peculiar phrases . . ii. 7, n.
— Histiæus swears to render it tributary to Darius . iii. 247
Sardoces, son of Tharmasias, escapes the punishment of the cross, iv. 126—taken with fifteen of the Persian ships by the Greeks . . . iv. 126
Sarpedon, expelled from Crete by his brother . i. 236
Sataspes, son of Teaspes, attempts to sail round Africa, but is

discouraged, and returns to Ægypt, ii. 394—is executed by Xerxes . . . ii. 397
Satiræ, never subdued . . . . iv. 40.
Satrapy . . . . . i. 259
— Persia divided by Darius into twenty . ii. 264
Saturn, sacrifice of children to . . . iv. 96, n.
Saul, his mental derangement resembles that of Cambyses, ... ii. 187, n.
Sauromatæ, account of . . . iii. 11
Scæus, son of Hippocoon, gives a tripod to Apollo . iii. 185
Scalping, practised by the Scythians, ii. 419—why introduced . . . . ii. 419, n.
Scaptesyla, gold-mines at . . . iii. 308
Sceptres, frequently carried by princes in their hands according to ancient authors . iii. 341, n.
Schœnus, an Ægyptian measure . i. 297
Scilly islands, supposed to be the Cassiterides . ii. 298, n.
Scylax, of Caryandia, discovers a considerable part of Asia, ... ii. 398
— his punishment by Megabates . iii. 150
Scyles, son of Aripithes, beheaded for endeavouring to introduce foreign ceremonies in Scythia . ii. 443
Scyllias, a skilful diver, deserts from the Persians to the Greeks . . . iv. 176
Scymetar, the Scythians worshipped Mars under the symbol of an iron one . . . ii. 417, n.
Scytha, his descent . . . ii. 361
Scythes, king of the Zancleans, besieges a Sicilian city, iii. 283—is seized and put in irons by Hippocrates, an ally of the Samians, 286—escapes, 286; and passes the remainder of his life in the Persian court . iii. 287
Scythia, Darius undertakes an expedition against it, ii. 349—account of its origin by the Scythians, 355; other accounts, 357—why they wear a cup at the end of their belts, 361—formerly belonged to the Cimmerians, 361—further account of the country, and neighbouring nations, 369—peculiarities of the climate, 378—has no towns nor fortified cities, 402—its rivers, 404—its grass, 413—barren of wood, 414—its extensive plains, 445—an impression in Scythia of the foot of Hercules . ii. 445
— a description of that part of Scythia which is continued from the mouth of the Ister to the sea-coast, iii. 1—neither asses nor mules produced in Scythia . iii. 28
Scythians, a number of their Nomades protected by Cyaxares, and entrusted with the education of some boys, i. 119—reputed excellent archers, 119, n.—revenge an affront offered them by Cyaxares, 119—occasion a war between

the Lydians and Medes, 120—their history remarkably obscure, 164, n.—arrive at the territories of the Medes, 165—in a battle with the Medes, obtain entire possession of Asia, 165—advance towards Ægypt, but are prevailed on by Psammitichus to return, 165—some of them are punished for plundering the temple of Venus at Ascalon, 166; ii. 461—lose the dominion of Asia, i. 169—the proper ones of Herodotus . . i. 274, n.
— are subdued by Sesostris, ii. 3—deprive their slaves of sight, 351—drink mares milk, 351—lead a pastoral life, 353—returning from Media, are opposed by their slaves, but repel them with whips, 354—their own account of their origin, 355—account of their origin according to the Greeks of Pontus, 358—other accounts of their origin, 361. 364—a barbarous people, 401—support themselves by their cattle, 402—their wisdom in constantly abiding in waggons, 403—habitation of a modern Scythian described, 404, n.—their divinities, 413—their mode of sacrifice, 414—keep no swine, 418—their military customs, 418—every one drinks the blood of the first person he slays, 418—present the heads of the enemies they kill to the king, 419—their mode of scalping, 419—their use of human skins, 420—their divinations, 424—swear by the king's throne, 426—their alliances, 427—mode of burying their kings, 428—manner of burying the people in general, 432—anoint their bodies, 435—tenacious of their customs, 436—their numbers . ii. 443
— conceiving themselves unable to repel Darius, apply to their neighbours, iii. 5—their connexion with the Amazons, 14—are assisted by a few only of their neighbours against Darius, 19—their plan of operations against Darius, 20—the answer of their king to the challenge of Darius, 26—make several attacks on Darius, 28—the braying of asses greatly distresses their horses, 29—send a messenger to Darius with a present, 29—oppose themselves to Darius in battle, 32—pursue a hare, which ran between their army and that of Darius, 32—pursue Darius, but miss of him, 34—are deceived by the Ionians, 38—their Nomades, incensed against Darius, advance to the Chersonese, put Miltiades the prince to flight, and retire after an interval of three years, 302—the madness of Cleomenes imputed to his communication with them, 351—to imitate them, proverbial for intemperate drinking . iii. 351, n.; 353
Sea, supposed by the Greeks to be incapable of congelation, ... ii. 378, n.

— said by the ancients to ebb and flow seven times a day at the Euripus . . . iii. 207, n.
— in the temple of Erectheus in the citadel of Athens, a cistern called a sea, iv. 215, n.—a cistern is so called in Scripture . . . . iv. 215, n.
Seal-ring worn by the Babylonians . . i. 266
— worn by Polycrates . . . . ii. 195
Seals cut with a stone by the Æthiopians . . iv. 9
Semiramis, various opinions of the time when she lived, i. 249. n.—her admirable works at Babylon . i. 250
— an emblem . . . . ii. 341, n.
Seneca, his mistake of a passage in Ælian respecting the Sybarites . . . . iii. 400, n.
Senegambia . . . . iii. 110, n.
Sennacherib, army of, put to flight by means of mice ii. 72
Serpents, horses feed on, i. 125—sacred in the vicinity of Thebes, 406—symbolical worship of, in the first ages very extensive, 406, n.—a symbol of the sun, 407, n. —winged . . . . i. 407
— flying, infest Ægypt and Arabia, ii. 290—their excessive increase prevented by nature . . . ii. 292
— compelled the Neuri to change their habitations, iii. 7—eaten by the Æthiopian Troglodytæ, 91—small, in Africa, with a horn . . . iii. 103
— a large one said continually to defend the citadel of Athens . . . . iv. 203
Sesamum grows to an immense height in Babylonia . i. 261
Sesostris, king of Ægypt, his exploits, ii. 1—columns erected by him after his victories, 2—is supposed to have vanquished Italy, 2, n.—said by Valerius Flaccus to have been vanquished by the Getæ, 3, n.—improbability of his having conquered India, 3, n.—the greater part of his pillars not to be found, 8—two figures of him, 8 —returned to Ægypt with an immense number of captives, 9—his brother's treachery, 9—makes canals in Ægypt, 10—distributes the lands in Ægypt, 12—no other monarch of Ægypt master of Æthiopia, 14—placed figures of himself and his family before the temple of Vulcan, 15—is succeeded by his son Pheron . ii. 16
Sestos, besieged and taken by the Athenians . iv. 419
Sethos, king of Ægypt and priest of Vulcan, succeeds Anysis, ii. 70—deserted by his soldiers when attacked by Sennacherib, 71—encouraged by a vision, marches to Pelusium, with a party entirely composed of tradesmen and artizans, and is successful, 72—at his death the Ægyptians chose twelve kings . . ii. 83
Severus, the emperor, his splendid funeral pile . i. 85, n.

Shade, the Ionians assembled at Lade by Dionysius, keep themselves under the shade . . . iii. 270
Shaving the beard, the greatest mark of ignominy and contempt throughout the East . . ii. 32, n.
Shaving the head, practised by the Ægyptians, from a very early age . . . . . ii. 148
— a testimony of sorrow . . . . iii. 278
Sheba, supposed to be Thebes . . . . i. 302, n.
Sheep, why the Thebans abstain from . . . i. 362
— in Arabia, with an enormous length of tail . ii. 296
Shield, the Carians invented ornaments to, and a handle, ... i. 233
— borrowed by the Greeks from Ægypt . iii. 86
— the Persian bucklers made of osier covered with skin, ... iv. 370, n.
Ships of the ancients, i. 29, n.—of the Phoceans, 226—of burden, how constructed by the Ægyptians, 438—ceremony in the ancient mysteries of carrying one about, related to Noah and the deluge . i. 439, n.
— of the Syphnians painted red . . ii. 218
— twenty, sold by the Corinthians to the Athenians, iii. 360 —of the ancients drawn on shore, whenever they wanted to remain any time in one place . iii. 484, n.
— three triremes consecrated by the Greeks after the battle of Salamis . . . . . iv. 282
Shoes of the ancients . . . . i. 265, n.
— standing in another's . . . iii. 260. n.
Shrew-mice, buried by the Ægyptians . i. 394
Shurland, Sir Robert de, his story . . . i. 77, n.
Sibylline books, story of . . . iv. 344, n.
Sicily, fertile in corn, iv. 88, n.—its cheese esteemed, iv. 88, n.
Sicinnus, sent privately by Themistocles, to inform the leaders of Xerxes' fleet of the consternation and dissensions of the Greeks at Salamis . . . iv. 237
Sick, law of the Babylonians concerning . i. 270
— put to death by their relations among the Padæan Indians, ii. 279—among certain Indians retire to some solitude, ... ii. 280
Sicyon, famous for fish . . . iv. 88, n.
Signals in battle, art of making them brought to great perfection . . . . . iii. 390, n.
—various kinds of . . . . iv. 174, n.
Sigynæ, their horses not able to carry a man : iii. 126
Sileni, the elder satyrs . . . . iv. 298, n.
Silphium . . . . . iii. 72, n.
Silver, its proportion to gold in the time of Herodotus, i. 46, n.—not used by the Massagetæ . . i. 286

— the Spartans not allowed to have any, ii. 335, n.—none possessed by the Scythians . . ii. 429
Simonides, of Ceos, iii.243—his memorable saying concerning God . . . . . iii. 243, n.
Simonides, of Chios, the inventor of local memory, i. 410, n.
Simonides, son of Leoprepis . . iv. 155
Simplicity of manners, in the East, similar in ancient and modern times . . . iv. 296, n.
Sinope, various accounts of . . ii. 363, n.
Siphnos, its riches, ii. 216—its present state . ii. 216, n.
Sisamnes, put to death by Cambyses for corruption in his office of judge . . . iii. 143
Skin of a man, used by many Scythians as a covering to their horses . . . . ii. 420
— punctures on, a mark of nobility with the Thracians, iii. 124—of Sisamnes, found guilty of corruption, fixed over the tribunal at which he had presided . iii. 143
Skins were anciently prizes at games . i. 431, n.
— used for books, instead of the biblos, iii. 184—of sacrificed animals assigned by the Spartans to their princes in war . . . . . iii. 317
Skulls of the Ægyptians hard, of the Persians soft, ii. 148—of enemies made use of as drinking cups by the Scythians . . . . ii. 420
— the veins of, burnt by the African shepherds, at the age of four years, iii. 95—letters inscribed upon the skull of a slave by Histiæus . . . iii. 153
— instance of one without a suture . iv. 392, and n.
Slaves, why deprived of sight by the Scythians, ii. 351—their cruel treatment at Rome . ii. 351, n.
—particulars concerning, iii. 168, n.—usurp the government of Argos, and after a tedious war with their masters, are subdued, 350—the first, were captives in war, iii. 371, n.
— Ionian females, celebrated for their graces and accomplishments . . . . iv. 273, n.
Sleeping, after dinner, an invariable custom in warmer climates . . . . . i. 102. n.
— a race of men said to live beyond Scythia, who sleep away six months of the year . . ii. 375
Smerdis, put to death by his brother Cambyses . ii. 180
Smerdis, the magus, is placed on the throne of Cambyses, ii. 223—pretending to be Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, reigns seven months after the death of Cambyses, 232—the Artaxerxes in Ezra, who obstructed the work of the temple, 234, n.—discovered to be not the son of Cyrus, 236—is slain with his brother . . ii. 247
Smiling, in the presence of another, deemed an act of indecency . . . . . i. 161

Smindyrides, son of Hippocrates, a Sybarite, eminent for his refined luxury . . . . . iii. 400
Smyrna, Gyges carries his arms against, i. 47—how lost by the Æolians . . . . . i. 215
Sneezing, considered as an auspicious omen, iii. 379, n.—a custom with the Latins when any one sneezed, to cry, "Save you!" . . . . iii. 380, n.
Snow, described by falling feathers . ii. 357. 382
Soldiers receive the highest honours, even in the least refined nations, ii. 112—and priests, the only ranks honourably distinguished in Ægypt . ii. 112
Soli, taken by the Persians after a five months siege, iii. 252
Solomon, the quantity of gold employed by him in overlaying the sanctum sanctorum of the temple, iii. 453, n.—quantity of gold which he had in one year from Ophir, ... iii. 454, n.
Solon resorts to Sardis, i. 60—is kindly received by Crœsus, 61—his sentiments on happiness, 62—is dismissed by Crœsus with indifference, 68—his conversation with Æsop, 68, n.—his stratagem for the repeal of a law of the Athenians, 94, n.—his stratagem for obtaining the isle of Salamis, 95, n.—his reply to Crœsus, recollected by the latter in captivity, 136—their conversation related by Plutarch . . . . i. 136, n.
— celebrates Philocyprus in verse . . iii. 251
— his design entirely the reverse of that of Lycurgus, ... iv. 163, n.
Song, ancient Ægyptian, i. 417—Grecian, called Linus, 417 and n.—in Greece, supposed to have preceded the use of letters, 417, n.—an original Caribbean song, i. 417, n.
— an American war-song . . . ii. 419, n.
Soothsayers, an animated fragment of Ennius against, ... ii. 424, n.
Sophanes, son of Eutychides, most eminent of the Athenians at the battle of Platæa, iv. 380—kills Eurybates in single combat, 382—slain by the Edonians in a contest about some gold mines . . . iv. 382
Sophist, a term honourable at first, but afterwards odious, ... i. 60, n.
Sophocles, anecdote of, at the rejoicings on the victory of Salamis . . . . . iv. 257, n.
Sosicles, his speech to the Lacedæmonians in favour of liberty . . . . . iii. 223
Sostrates, most fortunate of the Greeks in commerce . iii. 51
Soul, the Ægyptians first defended its immortality, ii. 36—various opinions concerning it, 36, n.—metempsychosis, ... ii. 37
Spaco, wife of Mitridates, saves the life of Cyrus, . i. 173

Spartans. See *Lacedæmonians.*
Speech of Cyrus to the Ionians and Æolians, i. 206—Cyrus to a Lacedæmonian ambassador . i. 217
— Cambyses to the Persians, previous to his death, ii. 228—Darius and Otanes to the rest of the conspirators against the magi, 237, 238—Gobryas against the magi, 240—Otanes in favour of a republic, 250—Megabyzus in favour of an oligarchy, 252—Darius in favour of a monarchy, 254—Coës to Darius . ii. 458
— the Scythian ambassadors to their neighbours assembled in council, on the approach of Darius, iii. 18—Indathyrsus to the ambassador of Darius, 26—Gobryas to the Persians, 31—Histiæus to the Scythians, 38—Aristagoras to Cleomenes, 167—the Spartans to Hippias, and the representatives of their Grecian allies, 223—Sosicles to the Spartans, 223—Darius to Histiæus, 246—Histiæus to Darius, 246—the Persian commanders to the Ionian princes deposed by Aristagoras, 265—Dionysius to the Ionians at Lade, 267—Leutychides to the Athenians, 354—Clisthenes to the suitors of his daughter Agarista, 406—Xerxes on a war with Greece, 426—Mardonius on a war with Greece, 429—Artabanus to Xerxes, 432. 473, 474, 475. 477—Xerxes to Artabanus, 473, 474. 476. 487—Xerxes to the Persians . iii. 479
— Harmocydes to the Phocæans, iv. 325—the Tegeans on a dispute with the Athenians, respecting their station in the Grecian army at Platæa, 333; and of the Athenians on the same subject, 335—Alexander to the Athenian commanders, 353—Pausanias to the Athenian chiefs, 356—Mardonius to the Spartans, 357—Mardonius to Thorax, Eurypilus, and Thrasydeïus, 366—Pausanias to the Athenians, 368—Lampon to Pausanias, 385—Pausanias to Lampon . . iv. 386
Spelt, Ægyptian bread made with . i. 349. 412
Sperthies and Bulis present themselves before Xerxes, to make atonement for the death of the Persian ambassadors, iv. 59—refuse to prostrate themselves before Xerxes, and are dismissed by him . iv. 61
Sphinxes, a type of the Ægyptian theology . ii. 121, n.
Spies, always treated by all nations in the same manner, iv. 71, n.—their office in Homer's time not infamous, ... iv. 71, n.
Spitting, in the presence of another, deemed an act of indecency . . . . . i. 161
Squares, large public ones for trade among the Greeks, ... i. 218
Stadium of different scales used by Herodotus . i. 298, n.
Stag, never seen in Africa . iii. 103

Statues, one of a woman in gold, three cubits high, at Delphi, i. 88—the Persians have none, 193—first engraved on stone by the Ægyptians, 294—of Isis, 360—of Io, 360—Ægyptian, of Jupiter, 363—of Pan . . i. 368
— of Summer and Winter, ii. 28—colossal, at Memphis and Saïs, 123—of Vulcan, at Memphis, 188—equestrian, of Darius . . . . . ii. 265
— of Damia and Auxesia . . . iii. 214
— large ones round the tripod before the temple at Delphi, iv. 192—large ones at Abas, 192—of Jupiter at Delphi, 389—of Neptune, at Delphi . . iv. 389
Sterility, a reproach among the orientals . i. 200, n.
Stesagoras, son of Cimon, succeeds to the authority and wealth of Miltiades, iii. 299—dies of a wound in the head, received in the Prytaneum . iii. 300
Stesicrates, his proposal to convert mount Athos into a statue of Alexander . . . . ii. 98, n.
Stesileus, son of Thrasylus, slain in the battle of Marathon, ... iii. 388
Stone, the shrine of Latona at Butos, of one enormous solid stone . . . . . ii. 97
Stones of different shapes the ancient symbols of the Gods, ... i. 193, n.
Stones, precious, the exquisite performances of the ancients on them, never equalled by the moderns . ii. 196, n.
Stoning to death, an ancient punishment, and still inflicted in Abyssinia . . . . iv. 311, n.
Storax, two species imported to Europe . ii. 291, n.
Storm of three days on the coast of Magnesia, does considerable damage to the fleet of Xerxes . iv. 119
Stratagem employed by Thrasybulus against Alyattes, i. 51 —of a Roman general, 51, n.—of Pisistratus, by which he obtains the supreme power, at Athens, 94—of Solon, for obtaining possession of Salamis, 95, n.—of Pisistratus, by which he became a third time master of Athens, 103—of the Persians, by which Sardis was taken, 133—at the taking of Sardis under Antiochus, 133, n.—employed by Cyrus, to induce the Persians to revolt from the Medes . . . . i. 188
— of Zopyrus, by which Babylon is taken . ii. 340. 343, ... 344, 345
— employed by Darius against the Scythians, iii. 34—of the Minyæ imprisoned by the Lacedæmonians, 44—employed by Amasis at the siege of Barce, 112—by Pigres and Mantyes, to obtain the government of Pæonia, 129—of Alexander, son of Amyntas, against the seven Persians sent by Megabyzus, to demand of Amyntas earth and water, 138—of Histiæus, for conveying his inten-

tions secretly, 153—of Cleomenes against the Thessalians, 191, n.—of Miltiades, the son of Cimon, to secure the possession of the Chersonese, 301—of Cleomenes against the Argives . . iii. 346
— of the Phoceans against the Thessalians, iv. 192—of Artemisia, at the battle of Salamis, 249—of Leutychides, to encourage the Greeks against the Persians at Mycale, ... iv. 406, n.
Strattes, tyrant of Chios, his death concerted, but not accomplished . . . . . iv. 290
Strength of body, a principal recommendation to honour in early ages . . . . ii. 162, n.
Strymon, the river, celebrated by ancient writers . i. 103, n.
Styx, the waters of, particulars relating to . iii. 340, n.
Subsistence, every Ægyptian compelled annually to shew his means of . . . . ii. 124
Succession, hereditary, its principle universal, but its order various . . . . . iii. 419, n.
Sun, adored by the Persians, i. 194—the great god of the Massagetæ, 284—horses sacrificed to, by the Massagetæ, 288—the overflowing of the Nile, attributed to, ... i. 328
— two obelisks sent by Pheron to the temple of, ii. 17—said by the Ægyptians to have four times deviated from his ordinary course, 74—the chief of the gods, in the ancient mythology of Ægypt, 80, n.—table of, in Æthiopia, 158—the beetle, an emblem of, 178, n.—with the Indians, hotter and more vertical in the morning than at noon . . . . . ii. 285
— fountain of, iii. 88—all fountains originally dedicated to, 89, n.—execrated by the Atlantes, when at the highest, 92—adored by all the Africans, 96—supposed by the ancients to have the power of turning aside any evils, which the night may have menaced, 179, n.—eclipsed at the departure of Xerxes' army from Abydos against Greece, 463—the tutelar deity of Greece . iii. 465
— his access and recess represented by the Phrygian rites in honour of Adonis, iv. 317, n.—sheep sacred to Apollonia . . . . . iv. 399
Superstition, frequent instances in ancient history of intemperate but artful men's availing themselves of it, ... iii. 335, n.
Suppliants, their manner, with the ancients, on entering any mansion, iii. 172, n.—their rights similar to those of hospitality among the ancients . iii. 279, n.
Surgery, the ancients had no contemptible knowledge of . . . . . i. 422, n.
Surplice, probable rise of . . i. 419, n.

Susa, its distance from Sardis, iii. 175—the city of Memnon, ... iii. 176; iv. 78
Swallows never migrate from Ægypt . i. 326
Sweeping, a mode of taking islands practised by the Persians, ... iii. 293
Swift, Dean, his opinion of Herodotus . iii. 300, n.
Swiftness, instances of, in Pliny . . iii. 377, n.
Swimming, the art of, a material part of youthful education amongst the Greeks and Romans, iv. 251, n.—the Ægyptians expert and graceful in . iv. 251, n.
Swine, how used by the Ægyptians for the purposes of husbandry, i. 314—sacrificed by the Ægyptians, 368—regarded by the Ægyptians as unclean, 369—Plutarch's explanation of the Jews' dislike to, 369, n.—offered by the Ægyptians to Bacchus and Luna . i. 370
— not permitted by the Scythians to be kept in their country . . . . . ii. 418
— never bred by the Africans, from Ægypt as far as lake Tritonis, iii. 94—the women of Barce abstain from the flesh of . . . . . iii. 94
Swords, at first of brass, ii. 226, n.—more anciently worn over the shoulder, 226, n.—two worn by the Romans, ... ii. 226, n.
Sybaris, taken by the inhabitants of Crotona, assisted by Dorieus . . . . iii. 162
Sybarites, their effeminacy, iii. 162, n.—their ingratitude to the Milesians . . iii. 277
Syloson, of Samos, gives Darius a cloak, ii. 329; in return for which Darius gives him Samos . ii. 330. 336
Symbols used by the ancients, of their respective deities, ... i. 193, n.
Syracuse, possessed by Gelon . . iv. 85
Syria, the name of Cappadocia . . i. 34, n.
Syrians, almost exterminated by Crœsus . i. 123
— of Palestine, borrowed circumcision from Ægypt, ii. 4—conquered by Necos near Magdolum . ii. 103
Syrtes, well described by Lucan . . iii. 72, n.

T.

Table, posture of the ancients at . iv. 322, n.
Talent, particulars concerning the different weights of, ii. 265, n.—the Babylonian compared with the Euboic ii. 273
Talthybius, herald of Agamemnon, his temple at Sparta, iv. 57—his posterity honoured . . iv. 57
Tanagra, battle at, between the Spartans, Athenians, and Argives . . . iv. 346

Tanagræi, their country famous for fighting cocks, iii. 210, n.
Tanais, the river, its rise and course, ii. 412—whence so called . . . . . ii. 412, n.
Tapestry of Corinth esteemed . . . iv. 88, n.
Tar, of Pieria, 106—springs of, in Zacynthus in Africa, ... iii. 106, n.
Tarentines, their severe defeat by the Cretans . iv. 103
Targitaus, the first inhabitant of Scythia . ii. 355
Tarsus, of Cilicia, the first commercial power in that part of Asia . . . . iv. 231, n.
Tartars, their habitations described . . ii. 404, n.
Tartessus . . . . . i. 225
Tattaowing, a custom of great antiquity . iii. 123, n.
Tauri, distinguished by peculiar customs . iii. 6
Tauris, inhumanity practised at . . iv. 422, n.
— *mountains of* . . . . . ii. 353
Tears, checked by extreme affliction, finely expressed by Shakspeare . . . . ii. 152, n.
Tearus, the river, its waters a remedy for several diseases, ii. 453—a column erected by Darius at . ii. 453
Teeth, of one entire bone . iv. 392 and n.
Tegeans conquer the Lacedæmonians, i. 109—unsuccessful after the discovery of the body of Orestes . i. 114
— dispute between them and the Athenians . iv. 333
Teians, their city taken by Harpagus, commander of the army of Cyrus, i. 230—pass into Thrace, and build Abdera, i. 231
Telamon, invoked by the Greeks at Salamis . iv. 222
Telines obtains to his posterity the honour of being ministers of the infernal deities . . iv. 82
Tell, William, remarkable story of, ii. 185, n.; reason for doubting its authenticity . . ii. 186, n.
Tellias, of Eleum, the soothsayer, his stratagem against the Phoceans . . . iv. 192
Tellus, the Athenian, deemed the most happy, by Solon, i. 62
Tellus, the wife of Jupiter . . . ii. 413
Telmessus, son of Apollo, his priests . . i. 126
Temple of Æacus . . . iii. 221
——— Amphiaraus . . . iv. 292
——— Andocrates . . . iv. 332
——— Apollo Triopean . . . i. 209
——— at Pataræ . . . i. 248, n.
——— at Delos . . . i. 248, n.
——— at Butos . . . ii. 97
——— erected by the Milesians . ii. 126
——— Ismenian . . iii. 185
——— Didymean . . iii. 276
——— at Abas . . . iv. 196
——— at Delphi . . iv. 192. 199
——— Ptous . . . iv. 292

——— at Athens facing the west . iii. 209
——— of Bacchus, at Byzantium . ii. 451
——— Ceres, on the Hippoleon promontory . ii. 411
——— Thesmophoros, at Paros . iii. 361
——— Cybele, at Sardis, burnt . iii. 242
——— Diana, at Butos . . ii. 97
——— Dictynna, in Cydonia . . ii. 219
——— Erectheus . . . iv. 214
——— the Furies of Laius and Œdipus . iii. 47
——— the Greeks, called Hellenium . ii. 125
——— Juno, at Samos . ii. 126, 130
——— Jupiter Carian, at Mylassa . i. 234
——— Osogus . . i. 234, n.
——— Belus, at Babylon . . i. 246
——— Thebean . . . i. 247
——— Olympus, at Pisa . . i. 298
——— built by the Æginetæ . ii. 126
——— Latona, at Butos . ii. 94. 97
——— Mercury, at Bubastis . . ii. 68
——— Minerva Assesian . . i. 50
——— Pallenian . . i. 101
——— Alean . . i. 110
——— at Lindus . . ii. 129
——— Crastian . . iii. 163
——— at Sigeum . . iii. 236
——— Pronea . . iv. 199
——— Sciras . . iv. 256
——— Neptune Erecthean . . iv. 214, n.
——— Hippias . . iv. 215, n.
——— Pan, on Mount Parthenius . iii. 374, n.
——— at Athens . . iii. 375
——— Protesilaus, in Ælæos . iii. 457
——— Thyia . . iv. 111
——— Venus Celestial, at Ascalon . i. 166
——— Cyprian . . i. 166
——— Cytherean . . i. 166
——— the Stranger . . ii. 18
——— Vulcan . . . ii. 14

Temples, the Persians have none, i. 193—oracular, mostly situated on mountains, 194, n.—division of the ancient, 246, n.—first erected by the Ægyptians . i. 293

Tenth of the spoil, anciently dedicated to sacred purposes . . . . . iv. 389, n.

Terillus brings an army of three hundred thousand men into Sicily, under the command of Amilcar, against Gelon, ... iv. 95

Thales, the Milesian, foretels an eclipse, i. 120—assists Crœsus in constructing a bridge over the river Halys, 122—his advice to the Ionians . . i. 232

Thasians, reduced by Mardonius, iii. 305—ordered by Darius to pull down their walls, and remove their ships to Abdera, 308—their riches . iii. 308
Thasus, besieged by Histiæus . iii. 290
Theasides, son of Leopropis, dissuades the emissaries of the Æginetæ from taking with them Leutychides, whom the Lacedæmonians had agreed to deliver up . iii. 353
Thebans, of Ægypt, why they abstain from sheep . i. 362
Thebans, of Bœotia, desirous of revenge on the Athenians, consult the oracle, iii. 210—commence hostilities with the Athenians, 212—the Athenians assist the Platæans against, 382—limits determined between the Thebans and Platæans . . . iii. 382
— though hostile to the Greeks, send them assistance against Xerxes, iv. 135—seeing the Persians victorious at Thermopylæ, separate from the Greeks, and preserve their lives, 158—Amphiaraus their ally, 292—besieged by the Greeks . . . iv. 394
Thebes, formerly the name of Ægypt . i. 318
Thebes, in Ægypt, i. 301—supposed to be the Sheba of the Scriptures . . . i. 302, n.
— rain a prodigy at . . ii. 145
— image of Jupiter there . . iii. 88
Themistocles, son of Neocles, advises the Athenians to prepare for a naval engagement with Xerxes, iv. 68—commands the Athenians against Xerxes, 106—is engaged by the Eubœans to risk the event of a battle at Eubœa with the Barbarians, 173—endeavours to detach the Ionians and Carians from the army of Xerxes, 184—the cause of several pretended miracles, 203, n.—his artifice to procure money for providing a complement of men for the Grecian fleet, 221, n.—prevails on Eurybiades, the commander of the Grecian fleet at Salamis, to stay and fight there, 222—sends Sicinnus to the fleet of Xerxes, and informs their leaders of the consternation and dissensions of the Greeks at Salamis, 237—confers with his enemy, Aristides, 242—reproached by Polycritus, 254—dissuades the Athenians from pursuing Xerxes in his retreat, 272—in the habit of an Ionian female slave, escaped from the fury of his incensed countrymen, 273, n.—dispatches messengers to Xerxes, who inform him of the resolution of the Athenians not to pursue him in his retreat, 274; this matter differently related by Plutarch, 274, n.—without the knowledge of the other Grecian leaders, extorts large sums from the islanders, 275—the Greeks declare him to deserve the second reward of valour, in the war with the Persians, 284—is splendidly entertained, and honourably distinguished at Lacedæmon, 284—his reply to the invectives of Timodemus iv. 286

Theodorus, of Samos, a silver goblet of his workmanship at Delphi, i. 87—the first statuary on record; constructed the labyrinth at Samos, and made a minute cast of himself in brass . . . . i. 87, n.
— made a seal-ring for Polycrates . . iii. 196
Theomestor, son of Androdamus, made Prince of Samos for his behaviour in the Grecian war . iv. 247
Theoris, a vessel every year sent by the Athenians to Delos, to offer sacrifice to Apollo . . . iii. 358, n.
Thera, so called from Theras, its founder, iii. 47—no rain there for seven years . . . iii. 50
Theras, sent from Lacedæmon to establish a colony, iii. 45—arrives at Thera, formerly called Callista . iii. 45
Thermæ, Xerxes halts and encamps at, in his expedition against Greece . . . . iv. 51
Thermopylæ, an excellent plan of the straits of, where to be seen, iv. 108, n.—Livy's description of the straits greatly admired, 108, n.—defeat of the Greeks at . iv. 150
Theron with Gelon, vanquishes Amilcar . iv. 96
Thesmophoria, mysteries in honour of Ceres, ii. 116; iii. 273, n.
Thespia, a city sacred to the Muses . . iii. 211, n.
Thespis, not the inventor of tragedy , iii. 197, n.
Thessalians assist the Pisistratidæ against the Lacedæmonians . . . . . iii. 189
— forsaken by the Greeks, prove themselves remarkably useful to Xerxes, iv. 107—exasperated by former injuries, demand of the Phocæans fifty talents, or threaten to reduce them under the power of Xerxes, 193—conduct the army of Xerxes to Doris . iv. 194
Thessaly, its horses much esteemed . iii. 189, n.
— formerly a marsh . . . . iv. 53
Thetis, magi sacrifice to, for the appeasing of a storm, iv. 123
Thieves, story of two, who plundered the riches of Rhampsinitus . . . . ii. 29
Thoas, king of the Pelasgi, put to death by the women of Lemnos, together with all their husbands . iii. 413
Thoes, animals in Africa . . . . iii. 102
Thomson, his animated description of Sparta, iv. 35, n.—his poem to Liberty worthy of attention . iv. 36, n.
Thonis, pretended by some to have invented medicine in Ægypt, ii. 20, n.—seizes Paris, and sends him with Helen to Proteus . . . . ii. 21
Thracians, subdued by Crœsus . . . i. 59
— subdued by Sesostris, ii. 3—make their garments of hemp . . . . . ii. 433
— conquered by Megabyzus, and reduced under the power of Darius, iii. 119—next to India, of all nations the most considerable, 119—lament the birth of a child, 120—rejoice at funerals, 121—have several wives, 121—their

most beloved wives sacrificed on their husbands' tombs, 122—sell their children, 123—regardless of their young women, but watchful over their wives, whom they purchase, 123—esteem a life of indolence, 124—their supreme delight is in war and plunder, 124—their deities, 124—their funerals, 125—hard drinking their characteristic . . . . iii. 351, n.
— part of the army of Xerxes, iv. 12. 116—through veneration, never cultivate the line of country, through which Xerxes led his army against Greece, 43—drive away the sacred chariot of Jupiter, which Xerxes had left with the Pæonians, 279—sacrifice Œbazus to their god Pleistorus . . . . iv. 421
Thrasybulus, king of Miletus, his stratagem to put an end to the Milesian war . . . i. 51
— enigmatical advice to Periander . iii. 230
Throne, the King's, to swear by it the most solemn oath among the Scythians . . ii. 426
Thucydides, his manner of reflecting on the facts he relates . . . . . ii. 193, n.
Thunder, prodigy of, in favour of Darius, ii. 261—from a cloudless sky, the highest omen with the ancients . ii. 262, n.
— destroys numbers of Xerxes' troops at the foot of mount Ida . . . . . iii. 470
— destroys a number of the Barbarians in their approach to the temple of Minerva Pronea . . iv. 200
Thyia, daughter of Cephissus, her temple . iv. 111
Thyrea, the Argives and Lacedæmonians fight for . i. 129
Tigers, said to prefer the flesh of an African to that of an European; the European to the American . iv. 50, n.
Tigris, three rivers of that name . . iii. 175
Tigranes, son of Artabanus, considers the contentions of the Grecians in the Olympic games as a proof of their virtue, iv. 190—one of the handsomest and tallest of his countrymen, commands sixty thousand land forces of Xerxes at Mycale . . . . . iv. 403
Timagoras, condemned to death by the Athenians, for prostration before the king of Persia . iv. 61, n.
Timegenides, son of Herpys, his advice to Mardonius, iv. 348—his person demanded by the Greeks, after the battle of Platæa, 394—delivered up to Pausanias, who puts him to death . . . . . iv. 396
Timesitheus, of Delphi, put in irons and condemned to die by the Athenians . . . . iii. 261
Timesius, of Clazomenæ, founder of Abdera, venerated by the Teians . . . . . i. 231
Timo, priestess of the infernal deities, shows Miltiades the means of possessing Paros . . iii. 408
Timodemus, of Aphidna, his enmity to Themistocles . iv. 285

Timoxenus betrays Potidæa to Artabazus . iv. 287
Tin, carried from Europe into Greece . ii. 299
Tisamenus, son of Antiochus, offers sacrifices on the part of the Greeks at Platæa, iv. 342—obtained the privileges of a citizen of Sparta for himself and his brother, 344—the Spartans obtained five victories by his assistance, iv. 346
Titormus excelled in bodily prowess . iii. 401
Tmolus, mount, gold dust descends from, . i. 149; iii. 242
Tombs, the Nasamones swear by placing their hands on those of men most eminent for virtue . iii. 76
Tomyris, queen of the Massagetæ, her proposal to Cyrus, i. 278—her son taken prisoner by Cyrus, 283—her son, released by Cyrus, destroys himself, 284—defeats Cyrus, and insults his dead body . i. 285
Torches, race of, at Athens, in honour of Pan, iii. 375—race of, in honour of various deities . iii. 375, n.
— before the use of trumpets, a torch was the signal for battle, iv. 174, n.—a torch handed about at the feast of Vulcan, 261—intelligence conveyed by means of . iv. 309, n.
Torone, the roaring of the sea there, so loud as to become proverbial . . iii. 448, n.
Tournaments, their origin may be traced in the public games of Greece . . . . iii. 400, n.
Traffic, mode of, between the Carthaginians and a people beyond the Columns of Hercules . iii. 107
Tragedy, invented by Epigenes of Sicyon . iii. 197, n.
Transmigrations, frequent among the Assyrians and Persians . . . . . iii. 261, n.
Trausi, their customs with respect to the birth of their children, and the burial of their dead . iii. 120
Tree, singular property of the fruit of one, among the islanders in the Araxes, i. 275—singular property of the leaves of trees on Mount Caucasus . i. 276
Trembler, an established term of reproach in Sparta, iv. 157, n.
Tributes, no specific ones in Persia, during the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses, ii. 266—the annual tribute paid to Darius . . . ii. 274
Triope, temple of . . . . i. 209
Tripods, ancient, of two kinds . . i. 147, n.
Tritons, the ancients believed in the existence of iii. 83, n.
Trochilus, kindly treated by the crocodile, and why i. 398
Troglodytæ, their swiftness, food and language, iii. 91—Montesquieu gives an entertaining account of . iii. 91, n.
Trojan war, various accounts of its precise period, ii. 19, n.—ascribed to Providence . . ii. 28
— frequent allusions to it in Herodotus, iv. 92. n.; 337, n.
Trophonius, oracle of his cave, i. 81, n. . iv. 292
Troy, the Persians date the cause of their enmity to Greece from the destruction of i. 32

— besieged and taken by the Greeks, on a supposition that Helen was detained there . . ii. 25
Trust reposed, the wisdom of discharging, illustrated by the story of Glaucus . . . iii. 354
Truth, to speak, one of the first rudiments of Persian education, ii. 239, n.—a violation of, implies a contempt of God, and fear of man . . . ii. 239, n.
Turbans, the constant use of, softens the skull . ii. 148
Turks, their ill treatment of ambassadors in case of war, ii. 224, n.—their wives, 83, n.—swear by the Ottoman Porte . . . . . ii. 426, n.
Twins, perplexity arising from their resemblance . iii. 312
Tycta, a festival of the Persians . iv. 415
Typhon, expelled from the throne of Ægypt, by Orus . ii. 79
— a bull sacrificed to, gave occasion to the golden calf of the Israelites . . . iii. 345, n.
Tyranny, used by Herodotus to signify a monarchy, i. 101, n.
Tyre, called by Isaiah the daughter of Tarshish, and the daughter of Sidon, on different accounts . iv. 228, n.
Tyres, the river, its rise . . ii. 408
Tyrrhenians, origin of the appellation, i. 155—taught the Romans their games and sports . . i. 155, n.

V.

Venus, the most ancient of all her temples at Ascalon, plundered by the Scythians, i. 166—by the Assyrians called Mylitta; by the Arabians, Alitta; and by the Persians, Mithra, i. 195; 278—her statue by Praxiteles, 210, n.—her statue de Medicis, 210, n.—Babylonian custom at her temple, 271—a full account of her, where to be found, 361, n.—her temple at Atarbechis in Ægypt, i. 362
— a name added by the ancients to their favourite beauties . . . . . ii. 19, n.
Venus, celestial, worshipped by the Scythians under the name of Artimpasa . . . ii. 413
Venus among the reeds, her temple at Samos . iv. 402, n.
Venus the Stranger, her temple, ii. 18—no other than Helen . . . . . ii. 19
Vermin, eaten by the Budini . . iii. 10
Vest, the Median, invented by Semiramis . iv. 44, n.
Vesta, the ancients much divided in opinion respecting her . . . . . ii. 413, n.
Victims, offered to celestial gods, had their heads turned upwards . . . . i. 213, n.
Victory, Cadmean, obtained by the Phocæans . i. 229
Vinegar of Pharos . . . i. 413
Vines, none in Ægypt, i. 412; this contradicted . i. 412, n.
— one of gold, presented by Pythius to Darius . iii. 453
Vipers, their excessive increase, how prevented by nature, ii. 291

Virgil, his design in placing the souls of infants weeping, in the infernal regions . . . i. 74, n.
Virgin, to die one, and without children, esteemed by the ancients a very serious calamity . ii. 312, n.
Visions, a method used by the ancients to avert the effects of . . . . . iii. 179, n.
Visits, mode of making them in the East . ii. 260, n.
Voice, loudness of, its use in military expeditions among the ancients . . . . . iii. 39, n.
Volney, M. a false assertion of his . . ii. 11, n.
Voltaire, M. abounds in false and partial quotations, ii. 430, n.
Urine, Pheron's blindness cured by . . ii. 16
— of goats, used by the African shepherds against convulsions, iii. 95—of cows, applied as a specific in some dangerous obstructions, 95, n.—of goats, a specific in an asthmatic complaint . . . iii. 95, n.
Urius, a name of Jupiter . . . ii. 447, n.
Urns, Roman, of what materials . . ii. 169, n.
Vulcan, priests of, at Memphis, i. 292—his temple at Memphis . i. 443, 444; ii. 64. 73. 96. 123
— Sethos, a priest of, ii. 70—his temple and statue insulted by Cambyses . . . . ii. 188
— a torch handed about amongst the Greeks at his feast . . . . . iv. 261

W.

Waggons, the Scythians dwell in . . ii. 403; iii. 16
Walking-sticks of the Babylonians . . i. 266
Water, the only liquor drunk by the ancient Persians, i. 116—adored by the Persians . . . i. 195
— transported by the Memphians to the Syrian deserts, ii. 141—of the Nile never becomes impure; is said to be preserved by the Ægyptians in jars for three or four years, 141, n.—a fountain in Æthiopia, on the water of which neither wood nor any thing lighter would float, 167—a fountain of bitter water in the country of the ploughing Scythians . . . ii. 409
Water-works, constructed by Eupalinus at Samos . ii. 221
Wax, the Persians inclose dead bodies in . . i. 204
Way, sacred, from Athens to Eleusis, celebrated, iii. 295, n.—whence the name of that leading from Rome, iii. 295, n.
Weaving, Ægyptian mode of . . . i. 346
Weep, to bid a person, was a proverbial form of wishing him ill . . . . . iii. 27, n.
Weights and measures, Herodotus always refers to those of Greece, and of Athens in particular . . i. 46, n.
— first introduced into Greece, by Pythagoras . iii. 402, n.
Willow twigs, used by the Scythians in divination . ii. 424
Winds, adored by the Persians, i. 195—the increase of the Nile attributed to the Etesian, 324—account of the Ete-

sian, 324, n.—south and south-west, most common in the higher parts of Libya, and most frequently attended with rain . . . . . i. 329
— sacrifice offered to by the Delphians, iv. 110—of the ancients and moderns . . . iv. 119, n.
Wine, not drunk by the ancient Persians, i. 116—drunk profusely by the Persians, in the time of Herodotus, 197—allowed to the Ægyptian priests, 355—why never drunk by the Ægyptians before the time of Psammitichus, 413, n.—whence the Oriental aversion for it, 413, n.—few nations, however barbarous, have not a liquor similar in its effects to wine . . . . i. 414, n.
— considered by the ancient Ægyptians as the blood of the gods, who had formerly fought against them, ii. 92, n.—annually exported from Greece to Ægypt, 141—Herodotus distinguishes different wines, only by the articles of which they are made . . . ii. 162, n.
— of Phlius esteemed . . . . iv. 88, n.
Wine, Barley, much information in "A Dissertation" on it, i. 414, n.—invented by Osiris . . ii. 79, n.
Wine, palm, the principal article of commerce in Babylonia, i. 264—in Ægypt, used in embalming . . i. 425
Wolves, the Neuri said to have the power of transforming themselves into . . . . ii. 369, n.
— buried by the Ægyptians . . . i. 395
Women, with their clothes put off their modesty, i. 39—naked wait on the Tyrrhenians, 39, n.—young, of Sparta, by the institutes of Lycurgus, were to dance naked at feasts and sacrifices, 41, n.—young, of Lydia, procure their marriage portion by prostitution, 150—the Scythians afflicted with their disease, 167—Carian, resent the death of their parents, 212—a female only permitted to sleep in the chapel of the temple of Jupiter Belus, 247—a woman sleeps in the temple of the Theban Jupiter, 247—in Babylonia, sold by auction to the men, 268—wives purchased by the Greeks, Trojans, and their allies, 268, n.—Babylonian custom of ablution after communication with, 270—their prostitution at the temple of Venus, 271—considered by the Massagetæ as common property, though married, 286—Cyrus, on his wife's death, commanded public marks of sorrow, 289—in Ægypt, leave the management of the loom to the men, and are engaged abroad in commerce, 345; but this not a custom in modern Ægypt, 346, n.—in Ægypt, carry burdens on their shoulders, 346—in Ægypt, are compelled to support their parents, 348—instance of a goat's having public communication with a woman, 369—the Mossyri had public communication with, 388, n.—why, in Ægypt, some are not immediately on their

decease delivered to the embalmers, 428—the Ægyptians, like the Greeks, confine themselves to one, 434; yet the Greeks did not always so, 434, n.—argument why only one should be assigned to one man i. 434. n. —a number of them burnt by Pheron, ii. 17—the courtezans of antiquity derived great profits from their charms, 49, n.—courtezans of Naucratis, 63—various wars on account of, 138, n.—different laws at Athens and Lacedæmon, respecting the marriage of a sister, 180, n.—in the East, jealously secluded from the other sex, 233, n. —number of wives allowed to the Mahometans, 236, n. —beauty of the Persian, 276, n.—the Indians have open and unrestrained communication with, 280—the address of, O woman! sometimes signifies contempt, sometimes tenderness, 323, n.—several, destroyed by the Babylonians, 337—anciently employed to bake bread, 337, n.—fifty thousand, sent to Babylon by order of Darius, 340—a female seen by Hercules, half a woman and half a serpent . . . . ii. 359
—the wives of the Minyæ, by exchanging dresses with their husbands, effect their escape from prison, iii. 44—Hipsicratea, to gratify her husband, constantly wore the habit of a man, 45, n.—the Adyrmachidæ, in Africa, presented their daughters to the king just before their marriage, who might enjoy their persons, ii. 328; iii. 70 —among the Nasamones, on the first night after marriage, permit every one of the guests to enjoy their persons, 76—wives of the Gindanes, in Africa, wear round their ancles as many bandages as they have known men, 81—of the Ausenses, their custom, 86—of the Zaueces guide the chariots of war, 104—a plurality of wives in Thrace, 121. 133—sacrificed on the tombs of their husbands in Thrace, 122; among the Getæ, and now in India, 122, n.—in Thrace, young women are suffered to connect themselves indiscriminately with men, but wives are purchased, and strictly guarded, 123—by the Macedonians kept separate from the men, 135—fatal effects to seven Persian messengers from their indecency to the Macedonian women, 138—two wives not allowed to one man in Sparta, 157—of Corinth, all stripped by Periander, 231—severity of the Ægyptian laws respecting, 265, n.—performed the offices of the bath, 275, n.—those in Greece who were freeborn never appeared at funerals, except at those of their relations, 321, n.—were much more rigorously secluded in Greece than in Rome, 321, n.—a woman in Sparta, remarkable for her ugliness, becomes exceedingly beautiful, 325—ten months the period of their gestation generally spoken of by the ancients,

326, n.—Argive, whimsical law relating to, 346, n.—Athenian, surprised by the Pelasgi while celebrating the feast of Diana, near Brauron, and killed, together with their infants, 412—of Lemnos destroy their husbands, with Thoas their king . . . . iii. 413
— Phocean, their fortitude, iv. 191, n.—Argive, a madness among, 344—to say that a man behaved like a woman, a most contemptuous reproach with the ancients, 411, n.—extraordinary instances of their cruelty . iv. 417, n.
Wood, Mr. a gross mistake corrected in his Essay on Homer . . . . . i. 306, n.
Words, play on, affected by the ancients . ii. 318, n.
Worms, Pheretima destroyed by . . iii. 115
Writing, performed by the Greeks to the left, by the Ægyptians to the right . . . . i. 352

X.

Xanthians burn their city in despair . i. 241
Xanthippus, son of Ariphron, iii. 407. 443.—capitally accuses Miltiades, 410—crucifies Artayctes, governor of Sestos, iii. 457
Xenagoras, son of Praxilaus, rewarded by Xerxes for saving the life of Masistes . . iv. 412
Xenophon, his manner of reflecting on the facts he relates . . . . . ii. 193, n.
Xerxes, son of Darius, drinks of the water of Choaspes, i. 255, n.
— signification of his name, iii. 367—dispute between him and Artabazanes concerning the succession to the throne, 418—is declared by Darius his successor, and succeeds him, 422—is persuaded by Mardonius to undertake a war against the Athenians, 422—reduces Ægypt more effectually than Darius, 425; and confides the government of it to Achæmenes, 426—before he leads his army against Athens, consults the principal Persians, 426—reproves Artabanus, who had endeavoured to dissuade him from the Athenian war, 437; is excited to it by a vision, 438—a second time consults the Persians on the Athenian war, 439—is urged to the Athenian war by a second vision, 439—prevails on Artabanus to assume his habit, and retire to rest in his apartment; when the same phantom appears to Artabanus, 444; and induces him to recommend the prosecution of the war, 445—sees a third vision, which is interpreted by the magi to portend to him unlimited and universal empire, 445—employs four years in assembling his army and collecting provisions, and in the beginning of the fifth begins his march against Greece, 446—digs a passage through mount Athos, 447—a letter supposed to have been written by him to mount Athos, 450, n.—is entertained with all his army by

Pythius, who engages to supply him with money for the war, 453—his present to Pythius in return for his offer, 455—adorns a plane-tree with chains of gold, 456—arrives at Sardis, 456—sends heralds into Greece, demanding earth and water, 456—causes a bridge to be thrown over the Hellespont, 457; which being destroyed by a tempest, he orders three hundred lashes to be inflicted on the Hellespont, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into the sea, 458; and those who presided over the construction of the bridge to be beheaded, 459—causes another bridge to be constructed over the Hellespont, 459—marches his army for Abydos, when the sun withdraws his light, 463—his character compared with that of Darius, 466, n.—his cruelty to the eldest son of Pythius, 467—order of his departure from Sardis, 467—orders a thousand oxen to be sacrificed to the Trojan Minerva, 470—arrives at Abydos, and surveys his army, 471—sees a naval combat, 472—weeps at the sight of his fleet and army, 472—his conversation with Artabanus, 473—dismisses Artabanus to Susa, and a second time calls an assembly of the Persians, 479—pours a libation into the sea, and addresses the sun, on preparing to pass the Hellespont, 480—passes the Hellespont, 481—drives his troops over a bridge by the force of blows, 481—seven days and nights consumed in the passage of his army over the Hellespont, 481—two prodigies seen by him, and disregarded, 482—marshals and numbers his army at Doriscus . iii. 483
– amount of his land forces, iv. 1.—nations who composed his army, 3.—his fleet, 19—takes a survey of his whole armament, proposing certain questions to each nation, – and noting down their replies, 28—conversation between him and Demaratus on the probability of his success against Greece, 30—appoints Mascamis governor of Doriscus, 37—in his progress from Doriscus to Greece, compels all the people amongst whom he comes to join his army, 38—description of his march into Greece, 38—buries Artachæes with great magnificence, 44—great expenses of the Greeks in entertaining Xerxes and his forces, 45—halts and encamps at Therma, 51—names of the Greeks who send him earth and water, 55—his magnanimity in refusing to take the lives of Sperthies and Bulis, as an atonement for the death of the Persian ambassadors at Sparta, 61—orders three Grecian spies to be shewn all his forces, that by their report the Grecians may be induced to submit, 72—his reason for not seizing some provisions of the Greeks, 73 – claims kindred with the Argives, 76—prevails on the Argives to withhold their assistance from the Lacedæmonians,

77—takes three Greek vessels at Sciathus, 111, 112. 114—number of his fleet and army, 115, 116—his grace and dignity of person, 119—station of his fleet on the coast of Magnesia, 119—his fleet sustains a considerable loss by a storm, 121—fifteen of his vessels, through mistake, sail into the midst of the Greek vessels at Artemisium, and are taken by them, 126—the rest of his fleet arrive at Aphetæ, 126—arrives with his land forces in the territories of the Melians, 126—encamps at Trachinia in Melis, 131—his expedition to Greece and his return, well expressed by the words of Ezekiel, representing Gog's army and its destruction, 133, n.—endeavours to gain the pass of Thermopylæ, without success, and with a prodigious loss of men, 140—is shewn a path over the mountain to Thermopylæ, 142—defeats the Greeks at Thermopylæ, 150—after the engagement at Thermopylæ, goes to view the dead, and treats the body of Leonidas with barbarity, 167—his character exhibits the greatest contradiction, 167, n.—his fleet engages with that of the Greeks, and loses thirty ships, 178; is distressed by a storm, 180; again engages the Greeks, 182; when both fleets retire, 183—on the retreat of the Greeks from Artemisium, his whole fleet sails thither, 187; proceeds to Histiæa, takes possession of the city, and overruns part of Hellopia and all the coast of Histiæotis, 188—conceals from his army the real number of the slain at Thermopylæ, 188—with his army, overruns Phocis, 196—his army divided into two bodies, one of which proceeds towards Athens, the other to Delphi, 197—his army, approaching to plunder the temple of Delphi, are deterred by prodigies, and in their flight lose a great number of men, 201; penetrate Attica, and burn all before them, 210; and take and set fire to the citadel of Athens, 213—orders the Athenian exiles to go to the citadel, and there sacrifice according to the custom of their country, 214—the defeat of his army inferred by Dicæus from a prodigy, 223—his naval troops pass from Trachis to Histiæa, and thence to Phalerum, 226—is joined by several reinforcements from those nations which had not yet declared for him, 227—visits his fleet in person, 227; and enquires of the several commanders, whether they are willing to engage the enemy, 229—resolves to be a spectator of the battle of Salamis, 232—his land forces advance to the Peloponnese, 233—loses a great part of his fleet in an engagement with the Greeks at Salamis, 246. 248—is deceived by a stratagem of Artemisia into a favourable opinion of her, 248—great numbers of his men drowned at Salamis, 251—puts to death several

Phœnicians, who had accused the Ionians of perfidy, 252—views the battle of Salamis from mount Ægaleos, 252—his remaining ships fly to Phalerum, and join the land forces, 255—after the battle of Salamis, determines on flight; yet makes seeming preparations for another naval engagement, 259—sends a messenger to Persia with intelligence of his defeat at Salamis, 259—resolves to return to Persia, leaving the conduct of the Grecian war with Mardonius, 266; and retreats, 270—is informed by Themistocles of the resolution of the Athenians not to pursue him in his retreat, 274; this matter differently related by Plutarch, 274, n.—promises the Lacedæmonians a satisfaction for the death of Leonidas, 277—arrives at the Hellespont, 278—loses numbers of his troops by sickness, 278—arrives at Sardis, 280—story of his conduct during a storm in his retreat, 280—makes a treaty of friendship with the people of Abdera, 282—attaches himself to the wife of Masistes, 412—marries his son Darius to the daughter of Masistes, 412 connects himself with Artaynta, the wife of his son, 413—his intrigue with Artaynta discovered by his wife Amestris . . . . iv. 413

Y.

Y, the letter, in an epigram imputed to Virgil, intimated a systematic attachment to virtue . iii. 30, n.
Year, first divided by the Ægyptians . . i. 293

Z.

Zacynthus, its tar-springs . . . iii. 106, n.
Zamolxis, esteemed a god by the Thracians, ii. 455—a man who lived three years in a subterranean edifice . ii. 457
Zancle, why so called . . . iii. 283, n.
Zancleans invite the Ionians to Calacte, wishing to found there an Ionian city, iii. 281—under the conduct of Scythes, lay close siege to a Sicilian city, 283—to recover their own city, call to their assistance Hippocrates, prince of Gela, who betrays them to the Samians, iii. 285
Zante, its tar-springs . . . iii. 106, n.
Zaueces, their women guide the chariots of war . iii. 104
Zea, a kind of corn, the principal diet in Ægypt . i. 349
Zipporah, motive of her conduct, as related in Exod. iv. i. 351, n.
Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus, mutilates himself in order to effect the capture of Babylon, ii. 340—takes Babylon by stratagem, 345; and is rewarded by Darius, 346—his daughter violated by Sataspes . ii. 395
Zoroaster, the founder of the doctrine of two principles, ii. 247, n.
Zygantes have abundance of honey; stain their bodies with vermillion; feed upon monkies . iii. 104, 105

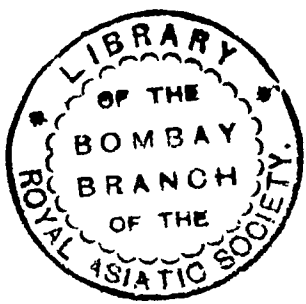
INDEX of *Texts of Scripture* explained or referred to in the NOTES.

GENESIS, 10. 4. iv. 205.—12. 11. ii. 17.—24. 2. ii. 143.—24. 22. ii. 164.—41. 44. ii. 332.—45. 12. ii. 5.
EXODUS, 4. i. 351.—29. 40. iii. 318.
LEVITICUS, 7. 8. iii. 317.—16. 1. &c. iv. 42.—16. 21. i. 359.—19. 19. i. 267.—19. 28. iii. 322.
NUMBERS, 15. 4, 5. iii. 319.—16. 1, &c. i. 85—19. 2. i. 358.
DEUT. 12. 2, 3. i. 194.—14. 5. iii. 101.—21. 12. i. 393.—21. 13. iii. 278.—23. 18. i. 393.—24. 16. iv. 395.
JOSHUA, 5. 2. i. 351.—18. 4, &c. iii. 167.
JUDGES, 6. 2. iv. 198.—8. 26. ii. 165.—12. 14. i. 200.
1 SAM. 13. 11. iv. 198.—14, 15, 16. iv. 179.—20, 21. iii. 395.
2 SAM. 1. 13, &c. iv. 42.—10. 4, 5. ii. 32.—20, 21. ii. 332.
1 KINGS, 2. 27. ii. 332.—7, 8. iv. 388.—7. 23. iv. 215.—13. 21. ii. 168.—22. 11. iii. 310.—25. 13. iv. 215.
1 CHRON. 19. 4. ii. 32.
ESTHER, 6. 1. iv. 247.
JOB, 7. 12. i. 396.
PSALMS, 48. 7. iv. 231.—147. 5. ii. 382.
PROVERBS, 7, 16. ii. 8.—7. 19, 20. iii. 395.
ECCLES. 9. 11. iii. 475.
ISAIAH, 7. 20. ii. 32.—23. 10. iv. 228.—30. 22. ii. 54.—47. 9. ii. 337.—50. 6. ii. 32.
JEREMIAH, 9. 25, 26. ii. 5.—16. 5. i. 270.—38. 7. iv. 268.—44. 17. iii. 465.—44. 30. ii. 114.—51. 27. i. 128.
EZEKIEL, 4. 12. ii. 415.—8. 15. iv. 317.—18. 20. iv. 396.—24. 5. ii. 415. —27. 7. ii. 8. iv. 113. 267.—29. 9, 10. ii. 114.—30. 13. ii. 154.—38. 5. 9. iv. 133.—38. 6. iv. 190.—38. 10. iv. 232.—39. 2, 3, 4. iv. 133.
DANIEL, 2. 46. ii. 161.—11. 2. iii. 447.
HOSEA, 4. 12. ii. 425.
JOEL, 2. 4. i. 128.
ZECHARIAH, 5. 1. iii. 356.—14. 11. i. 312.
WISDOM, 13. 13. ii. 130.
BARUCH, 6. 32. i. 270.—6. 42. i. 271.
1 MACCABEES, 4. 23. iv. 267.
MATTHEW, 26. 7. ii. 161.
MARK, 14. 3. ii. 161.
ACTS, 12. 21. iii. 115.—27. 29. iii. 269.

FINIS.

Printed by S. & R. BENTLEY,
Dorset-street, Fleet-street, London.

00104833


LIBRARY
OF THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018